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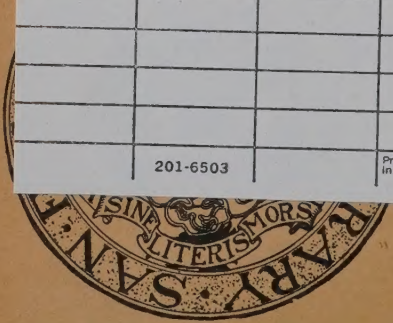

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PLATE I. THE PARTHENON. (After the restored model in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City)

THE EASTERN NATIONS AND GREECE

BY

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SECOND REVISED EDITION

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PREFACE TO THE SECOND REVISED EDITION

This little book is the first half of the second revised edition of the writer's *Ancient History*. Several of the original chapters have received important additions, and an entirely new chapter on the pre-Hellenic Ægean Civilization has been added.

P. V. N. M.

College Hill, Cincinnati

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THE EASTERN NATIONS AND GREECE

CHAPTER I

GENERAL INTRODUCTION: PREHISTORIC TIMES

1. The Prehistoric and the Historic Age. The immensely long periods of human life which lie back of the time when man began to keep written or graven records of events form what is called the Prehistoric Age. The comparatively few centuries of human experience made known to us through such records comprise the Historic Age. In Egypt we find records which date from the fifth or fourth millennium B.C.; so for that land the historic period begins six or seven thousand years ago. For Babylonia it begins several centuries later than for Egypt. For the Mediterranean regions of Europe it opens about 1000 B.C.; for the countries of central and northern Europe, speaking broadly, not until about the beginning of our era; and for the New World only a little over four hundred years ago.

2. How we Learn about Prehistoric Man. A knowledge of what manner of man prehistoric man was and what he did is indispensable to the historical student; for the dim prehistoric ages of human life form the childhood of the race — and the man cannot be understood without at least some knowledge of the child.

But how, in the absence of written records, are we to find out anything about prehistoric man? In many ways we are able to learn much about him. First, by studying the life of present-day backward races; for what they now are, the great races of history, we have reason to believe, were in their prehistoric age.

Again, the men who lived before the dawn of history left behind them many things which witness as to what manner of men they were. In ancient gravel beds along the streams where they fished or hunted, in the caves which afforded them shelter, in the refuse heaps

(kitchen middens) on the sites of their villages or camping places, or in the graves where they laid away their dead, we find great quantities of tools and weapons and other articles shaped by their hands.[1] From these various things we learn what skill these early men had acquired as tool makers, what degree of culture they had attained, and something of their conception of the life in the hereafter.

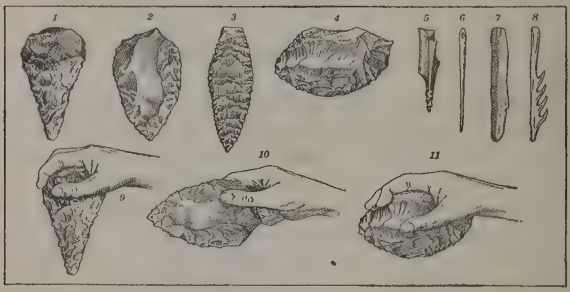


FIG. 1. IMPLEMENTS OF THE OLD STONE AGE

No. *1*, the core of a flint nodule, was the earliest and the characteristic tool and weapon of Paleolithic man. It served a variety of purposes, and was used without a handle, being clutched with the hand (No. *9*), and hence is called the hand-ax or fist-ax. No. *2* is a flint flake struck from a nodule. No. *8* (a harpoon-point) tells us that the man of this age was a fisher as well as a hunter. From No. *6* (a bone needle) we may infer that he made clothing of skins, for since he had not yet learned the art of weaving (the spindle-whorl does not appear till the next epoch; see Fig. 5 and explanatory note), the material of which he made clothing could hardly have been anything else than the skins of animals killed in the chase. That skins were carefully prepared is evidenced by the scraper (Nos. *4*, *11*), an implement used in dressing hides. No. *7* (an engraving-tool) tells us that art had its beginnings in Paleolithic times

3. Divisions of Prehistoric Times. The long period of prehistoric times is divided into different ages, or stages of culture, which are named from the material which man used in the manufacture of his weapons and tools. The earliest epoch is known as the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age; the following one as the Neolithic or New Stone

[1] Besides these material things that can be seen and handled, there are many immaterial things — as, for instance, language, which is as full of human memories as the rocks are of fossils — that light up for us the dim ages before history (see sect. 10).

Age; and the later period as the Age of Metals. The division lines between these ages are not sharply drawn. In most countries the epochs run into and overlap one another, just as in modern times the Age of Steam runs into and overlaps the Age of Electricity.

4. The Paleolithic or Old Stone Age. In the Old Stone Age man's chief implements were usually made of stone, and especially of chipped flints, though bones, horns, tusks, and other material were also used in their manufacture. These rude implements and weapons of Paleolithic man, found mostly in river gravel beds and in caves, are the very oldest things in existence which we know positively to have been shaped by human hands.

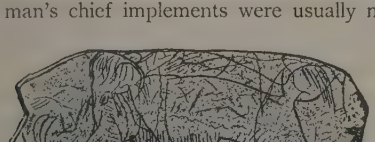


FIG. 2. ENGRAVING OF A MAMMOTH ON THE FRAGMENT OF A TUSK[1] (Old Stone Age)

The man of the Old Stone Age in Europe saw the retreating glaciers of the great Ice Age, of which geology tells us. Among the animals which lived with him on that continent (we know most of early man there) were the woolly-haired mammoth, the bison, the wild ox, the cave bear, the rhinoceros, the wild horse, and the reindeer — species which are no longer found in the regions where primitive man hunted them. As the climate and the vegetation changed, some of these animals became extinct, while others of the cold-loving species retreated up the mountains or migrated towards the north.

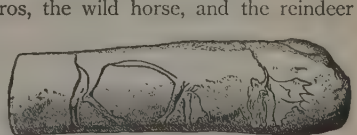


FIG. 3. ENGRAVING ON A REINDEER ANTLER.[1] (Old Stone Age)

What we know of Paleolithic man may be summed up as follows: he was a hunter and fisher; his habitation was often merely a cave or a rock shelter; his implements were in the main roughly shaped flints;

[1] These interesting art objects are from France. They represent the earliest artistic efforts of man of which we have knowledge. In comparison with them the pictures on the oldest Egyptian monuments are modern.

he had no domestic animals save possibly the dog; he was ignorant of the arts of spinning and weaving, and practically also of the art of making pottery.[1]

The length of the Old Stone Age no one knows; we do not attempt to reckon its duration by centuries or by millenniums even, but only by geologic epochs. But we do know that the long slow epochs did not pass away without some progress having been made by primeval man, which assures us that though so lowly a creature, he was endowed with the capacity for growth and improvement. Before the end of the age he had acquired wonderful skill in the chipping of flint points and blades; he had learned the use of fire, as we know from the traces of fire found in the places where he made his abode; and he had probably invented the bow and arrow, as we find this weapon in very general use at the opening of the following epoch. This important invention gave man what was to be one of his chief weapons in the chase and in war for thousands of years — down to and even after the invention of firearms late in the historic period.

FIG. 4. WALL PAINTING FROM THE CAVERN OF FONT-DE-GAUME, FRANCE (After *Breuil*)

But most prophetic of the great future of this savage or semisavage cave man of the Old Stone Age was the fine artistic talent that some tribes or races of the period possessed; for, strange as it may seem, among the men of this epoch there were some amazingly good artists. Besides numerous specimens of his drawings and carvings of animals, chiefly on bone and ivory, which have been found from time to time during the last half century and more, there have recently been discovered many large drawings and paintings on the walls of various grottoes in southern France and northern Spain.[2] These wonderful

[1] The Australians and New Zealanders when first discovered were in the Paleolithic stage of culture; the Tasmanians had not yet reached it.

[2] The first of these wall paintings were discovered in 1879, but that they really were of the immense age claimed for them was not established beyond all doubt until

pictures are in the main representations of animals. The species most often represented are the bison, the horse, — one species being like the Celtic pony of to-day, — the wild ox, the reindeer, and the mammoth. This astonishing art of the European cave men shows that primitive man, probably because he is a hunter and lives so close to the wild life around him, often has a keener eye for animal forms and movements than the artists of more advanced races; for as a

FIG. 5. IMPLEMENTS OF THE NEW STONE AGE

These tools and weapons mark a great advance over the chipped flints of the Old Stone Age (Fig. 1). They embody the results of thousands (perhaps tens of thousands) of years of human experience and invention, and mark the first steps in human progress. Nos. *1–3* and *7–10* show how after unmeasured ages man had learned to increase the effectiveness of his tools and weapons by grinding them smooth and sharp, and by fitting handles to them. No. *5* records the incoming of the art of making pottery — one of the most important industrial arts prior to the Age of Iron. No. *6* (a spindle-whorl of stone or of hardened clay used as a weight in twisting thread) informs us that man had learned the civilizing arts of spinning and weaving

high authority asserts, "in some respects the art of these hunter painters has never been surpassed or even equaled." The history of art (sculpture, engraving, and painting) must hereafter begin with the works of these artist hunters of the Paleolithic time.[1]

1902 (see Cartailhac et Breuil, *La Caverne d'Altamira*, 1906; and Perony, *La Caverne de Font-de-Gaume*, 1910). The pictures are generally found in the depths of caverns where not a ray of the light of day ever enters. They were made by the light of lamps fed with the fat of animals. It is almost certain that they had a magical purpose, that is, were made in the belief that by a species of magic they would cause an increase of the game animals represented, or would render them a sure prey in the chase.

[1] See Reinach, *Apollo* (1900), chap. i; also Art. "Painting," *Encyc. Brit.*, 11th ed.

5. The Neolithic or New Stone Age. The Old Stone Age was followed by the New.[1] Chipped or hammered stone implements still continued to be used, but what characterizes this period was the use of ground or polished implements. Man had learned the art of grinding his tools and weapons to a sharp edge with sand on a grinding stone.[2] To his ax he had also learned to attach a handle, which made it a vastly more effective implement (Fig. 5).

FIG. 6. A PREHISTORIC EGYPTIAN TOMB
(After *J. de Morgan*)

Primitive man's belief in a future life led him to place in the grave of the deceased weapons, implements, food, and articles of personal adornment for use in the other world (cf. sects. 37–40). Outfits of this kind found in prehistoric graves are an important source of our knowledge of man before recorded history begins

Besides these improvements in his tools and weapons, the man of the New Stone Age had made other great advances beyond the man of the Old Stone Age. He had learned to till the soil; he had learned to make fine pottery, to spin, and to weave; he had domesticated various wild animals; though like Paleolithic man he sometimes lived in caves, he built houses, often on piles on the margins of lakes and morasses (Fig. 8); and he buried his dead in such a manner — with accompanying gifts (Fig. 6) — as to show that he had a firm belief in a future life.[3]

The later period of this New Stone Age was marked by the beginnings of architecture. In many regions, particularly in western Europe, the men of this age began to construct rude tombs and other monuments of huge undressed stones — often of blocks so immense that it must have required the

[1] Some archæologists put a period, which they name the Middle Stone Age, between the Paleolithic and the Neolithic Age. Most, however, consider this period merely a subdivision of the Old Stone Age.

[2] The North American Indians were in this stage of culture at the time of the discovery of the New World. The Egyptians and Babylonians were just emerging from it when they first appeared in history.

[3] Recent discoveries have revealed traces of this belief even before the close of the Paleolithic period. Several cases of burial have been found with rich grave outfits of flint implements and weapons, which point unmistakably to a belief in a life after death.

PLATE II. REMARKABLE PAINTINGS ON THE WALLS OF CAVERNS, BY THE HUNTER-ARTISTS OF THE OLD STONE AGE. (After *Breuil*; see p. 4, n. 2)

united strength of a thousand or more men to haul them and to set them up. The most common forms of these monuments are shown in the accompanying cut (Fig. 7).

The Neolithic stage of culture lasted several thousand years — the length of the period varying of course in the different lands — and was widespread. The relics of Neolithic man are found on all the continents. In Egypt, in Babylonia, in Greece, in Italy, and in other

FIG. 7. TYPICAL MEGALITHIC OR HUGE STONE MONUMENTS

A single stone (No. 1) is called a *menhir*, and a large stone resting on smaller ones (No. 2) a *dolmen*. Prehistoric stone monuments of these and other types are found in almost all parts of the world, but in especially great numbers in western Europe and North Africa. The oldest of these monuments date from the later Stone Age. They doubtless served various purposes. Some were the tombs of great persons, some were man's first temples, others marked sacred spots, and still others were probably erected to preserve the memory of great events

lands the historic development grew directly out of this Stone Age culture. It thus formed the basis of the civilizations of all the great peoples of the ancient world.

6. The Age of Metals. Finally the long ages of stone passed into the Age of Metals. This age falls into three subdivisions — the Age of Copper, the Age of Bronze, and the Age of Iron. Some peoples, like the African negroes, passed directly from the use of stone to the use of iron; but in most of the countries of the Orient and of Europe the three metals came into use one after the other and in the order named. Speaking broadly, we may say that the Age of Metals began

for the more advanced peoples of the ancient world between 3000 and 4000 B.C.[1]

The history of metals has been declared to be the history of civilization. Indeed, it would be almost impossible to overestimate their importance to man. Man could do very little with stone implements

FIG. 8. A RESTORATION OF SWISS LAKE DWELLINGS OF THE LATER STONE AGE. (From Keller, *Lake Dwellings*)

This mode of building on piles in the shallow water of lakes, begun (as a means of protection against enemies) by the men of Neolithic times, was continued far into the Bronze Age, as proved by the bronze objects found in the mud on the sites of ancient pile-villages in Switzerland and elsewhere

compared with what he could do with metal implements. It was a great labor for primitive man, even with the aid of fire, to fell a tree with a stone ax and to hollow out the trunk for a boat. He was hampered

[1] The limited use of copper seems to have begun among the peoples of the Orient some centuries before this date — in Egypt about 3500 B.C. But copper is a soft metal, and tools and weapons made of it were not so greatly superior to the stone ones then in use as to put them out of service. But either by accident or through experiment it was discovered that by mixing about nine parts of copper with one part of tin a new metal, called bronze, much harder than either tin or copper, could be made. So greatly superior were bronze implements to stone that their introduction caused the use of stone for tools and weapons to be practically discontinued, and consequently the Age of Bronze constitutes a well-defined and important epoch in the history of culture.

in all his tasks by the rudeness of his tools. It was only as the bearer of metal implements and weapons that he began really to subdue the earth and to get dominion over nature. All the higher cultures of the ancient world with which history begins were based on the knowledge and use of metals.

7. The Domestication of Fire. In this and the immediately following sections we shall dwell briefly upon some of the special discoveries and achievements, several of which have already been mentioned, marking important steps in man's progress during the prehistoric ages.

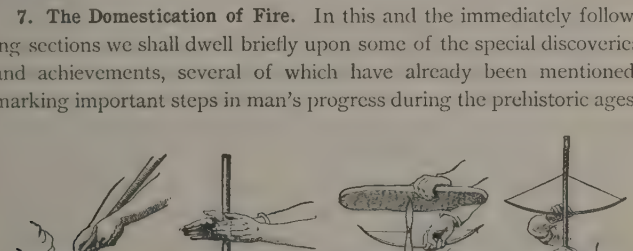


FIG. 9. PRIMITIVE METHODS OF MAKING FIRE. (After *Tylor*)

Doubtless the discovery that fire could be produced by friction came about through the operation of the primitive toolmaker. The processes of smoothing, polishing, and grooving softwood implements, and of boring holes in them with pieces of harder wood, could hardly fail of revealing the secret. The character of the fire-making devices of present-day savages point the way of the discovery

Prominent among the achievements of early man was the domestication of fire. The origin of the use of fire is hidden in the obscurity of primeval times. That fire was known to Paleolithic man we learn, as already noted, from the traces of it discovered in the caves and rock shelters which were his abode. No people has ever been found so low in the scale of culture as to be without it.

As to the way in which early man came into possession of fire, we have no knowledge. Possibly he kindled his first fire from a glowing lava stream or from some burning tree trunk set aflame by the lightning.[1] However this may be, he had in the earliest times learned to produce the vital spark by means of friction. The fire borer, according to Tylor, is among the oldest of human inventions. Since the

[1] Fires thus lighted are surprisingly numerous. During the year 1914 there were over 2000 fires started by lightning in the national forests of the United States.

awakening of the spark was difficult, the fire once alight was carefully fed so that it should not go out. The duty of watching the flame naturally fell to the old women or to the daughters of the community, to which custom may be traced the origin of such institutions as that among the Romans of the vestal virgins, the guardians of the sacred flame on the hearth of the goddess Vesta.

Only gradually did primeval man learn the various properties of fire and discover the different uses to which it might be put, just as historic man has learned only gradually the possible uses of electricity. By some happy accident or discovery he learned that it would harden clay, and he became a potter; that it would smelt ores, and he became a worker in metals; and that it would aid him in a hundred other ways. "Fire," says Joly, "presided at the birth of nearly every art, or quickened its progress." The place it holds in the development of the family, of religion, and of the industrial arts is revealed by these three significant words — "the hearth, the altar, the forge." No other agent has contributed more to the progress of civilization. Indeed, it is difficult to conceive how without fire primitive man could ever have emerged from the Age of Stone.

8. The Domestication of Animals. "When we visit a farm at the present day and observe the friendly nature of the life which goes on there, — the horse proudly and obediently bending his neck to his yoke; the cow offering her streaming udder to the milkmaid; the woolly flock going forth to the field, accompanied by their trusty protector, the dog, who comes fawning to his master, — this familiar intercourse between man and beast seems so natural that it is scarcely conceivable that things may once have been different. And yet in the picture we see only the final result of thousands and thousands of years of the work of civilization, the enormous importance of which simply escapes our notice because it is by everyday wonders that our amazement is least excited."[1]

The most of this work of inducing the animals of the fields and woods to become, as it were, members or dependents of the human family, to enter into a league of friendship with man and to become his helpers, was done by prehistoric man. When man appears in

[1] Schrader, *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* (1890), p. 259.

history, he appears surrounded by almost all the domestic animals known to us to-day. The dog was already his faithful companion — and probably the first won from among the wild creatures; the sheep, the cow, and the goat shared his shelter with him.[1]

The domestication of animals had such a profound effect upon human life and occupation that it marks the opening of a new epoch in history. The hunter became a shepherd,[2] and the hunting stage in culture gave place to the pastoral.[3]

9. The Domestication of Plants. Long before the dawn of history those peoples of the Old World who were to play great parts in early historic times had advanced from the pastoral to the agricultural stage of culture. Just as the step from the hunting to the pastoral stage had been taken with the aid of a few of the most social species of animals, so had this second upward step, from the pastoral to the agricultural stage, been taken by means of the domestication of a few of the innumerable species of the seed grasses and plants growing wild in field and wood.

Wheat and barley, two of the most important of the cereals, were probably first domesticated somewhere in Asia, and from there carried over Europe. These grains, together with oats and rice, have been, in the words of Tylor, "the mainstay of human life and the great moving power of civilization." They constituted the basis of the earliest great states and civilizations of Asia and Europe.

The domestication of plants and the art of tilling the soil effected a great revolution in prehistoric society. The wandering life of the hunter and the herder now gave way to a settled mode of existence. Cities were built, and within them began to be amassed those

[1] The task, still unfinished, of the historic period has been not so much to increase the number as to improve the breed of the stock of domesticated animals bequeathed from the prehistoric time.

[2] In some regions favored in climate and soil the farmer preceded the shepherd, but agriculture upon a large scale could hardly be carried on until man had domesticated the ox and the ass and taught them to draw the plough.

[3] It is of interest to note that most of the wild stocks whence have come our domestic animals are of Old World origin. It is thought by some that one reason why the tribes of the New World at the time of its discovery were so far behind the peoples of the Old was that there were fewer tamable animals here — none of real importance save the llama and the alpaca in the Andean uplands of South America and possibly the buffalo of North America.

treasures, material and immaterial, which constitute the precious heirloom of humanity. This attachment to the soil of the hitherto roving clans and tribes meant also the beginning of political life. The cities were united into states and great kingdoms were formed, and the political history of man began, as in the valleys of the Nile and the Euphrates.

Early man seems to have realized how much he owed to the art of husbandry, for in the mythologies of many peoples some god or goddess is represented as having taught men how to till the soil and to plant the seed. It seemed to man that for so great a boon he must be beholden to the beneficence of the gods.[1]

10. The Formation of Language. Another great task and achievement of primitive man was the making of language. The earliest speech used by historic man, as Tylor observes, "teaches the interesting lesson that the main work of language-making was done in the ages before history."

The vastness of this work is indicated by the languages with which history begins, for language-making, particularly in its earliest stages, is a very slow process. Periods of time like geologic epochs must have been required for the formation out of the scanty speech of the first men, by the slow process of word-making, of the rich and polished languages already upon the lips of the great peoples of antiquity when they first appear in the light of history.

We need not dwell upon the inestimable value to man of the acquisition of language. Without it all his other acquisitions and discoveries would have remained comparatively fruitless, all his efforts to lift himself to higher levels of culture have been unavailing.

[1] So thorough was prehistoric man's search for whatever in the plant world could be cultivated for food, that historic man has not been able during the last 2000 years from the tens of thousands of wild plants to discover any species comparable in value to any one of the staple food-plants selected and domesticated by primeval man (De Candolle, *Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 451). It is interesting further to note that while early man exploited the organic kingdoms, that is to say, the animal and vegetable realms, he made few and slight requisitions upon the forces of the inorganic world. It was reserved for the men of the later historic age — for the ancient civilizations have to their credit no epoch-making achievements here — to domesticate, so to speak, the powerful agents steam and electricity and through their utilization to effect revolutions in modern society like those effected in prehistoric times by the domestication of animals and plants.

Without it, so far as we can see, he must have remained forever in an unprogressive and savage or semisavage state.

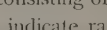
11. The Invention of Writing. Still another achievement of prehistoric man, and after the making of language perhaps his greatest, certainly the most fruitful, was the invention of writing — the perfection of which marks the opening of historic times.

The first form of writing used by primitive man was picture writing, such as was and is still used by some of the Indian tribes of the New World. In this system of writing the characters are rude pictures of material objects, as, for instance, a picture of an eye to indicate the organ of sight; or they are symbols of ideas, as, for

FIG. 10. INDIAN PICTURE WRITING. (After *Mallery-Deniker*)

Record of an Alaskan hunt. It reads thus: I go, by boat (indicated by paddle); sleep one night (hand to side of head denotes sleep), on island with two huts; I go to another island; two sleeps there; hunt with harpoon, sea lion; also with bow; return by boat with companion (indicated by two paddles), to my lodge

illustration, a picture consisting of wavy lines beneath an arc representing the sky to indicate rain. This way of representing ideas, which seems natural to man, is known as ideographic writing, and the signs are called ideograms.

A great step in advance is taken when the picture writer uses his pictures or symbols to represent not actual objects or ideas, but sounds of the human voice, that is, words. This step was taken in prehistoric times by different peoples — the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Chinese — independently. It seems to have been taken by means of the rebus, a mode of writing which children love to employ. What makes rebus writing possible is the existence in every language of words having the same sound but different meanings. Thus in English the pronoun *I* is sounded like the word *eye*, and the word *reign*, to rule, like the word *rain*. Now the picture writer, wishing to express the idea *I reign*, could do so by the use of the two pictures or ideograms given above, in this way,  . When so used, the ideogram becomes a phonogram, and the

writing is phonetic or sound writing. In this way the chasm between picture writing and sound writing is bridged, and the most difficult step taken in the development of a practical system of representing thought.

In the first stage of sound writing, each picture or symbol stands for a whole word. In such a system as this there must of course be as many characters or signs as there are words in the language represented. In working out their system of writing the Chinese stuck fast at this point (sect. 122).

Two additional steps beyond this stage are required in order to perfect the system. The first of these is taken when the characters are used to represent syllables instead of words. This reduces at once the number of signs needed from many thousands to a few hundreds, since the words of any given language are formed by the combination of a comparatively small number of syllables. With between four and five hundred symbols the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, who used this form of writing, were able to represent all the words of their respective languages (sect. 52). Characters or symbols used to represent syllables are called syllabic phonograms, and a collection of such signs is called a syllabary.

While a collection of syllabic signs is a great improvement over a collection of word signs, still it is a clumsy instrument for expressing ideas, and the system requires still further simplification. This is done and the final step in developing a convenient system of writing is taken when the symbols are used to represent not syllables but elementary sounds of the human voice, of which there are only a few — a score or two — in any language. Then the symbols become true letters, a complete collection of which is called an alphabet, and the mode of writing alphabetic.

When and where this final step was taken we do not know. But soon after 900 B.C. we find several Semitic peoples of western Asia in possession of an alphabet. Through various agencies, particularly through the agency of trade and commerce, this alphabet was spread east and west and thus became the parent of all but one[1] of the alphabets employed by the peoples of the ancient world of history, and of every alphabet in use on the earth to-day (sect. 95).

[1] See p. 56, n. 1.

12. The Great Bequest. We of this twentieth century esteem ourselves fortunate in being the heirs of a noble heritage — the inheritors of the precious accumulations of all the past centuries of history. We are not used to thinking of the men of the first generation of historic times as also the heirs of a great legacy. But even the scanty review we have made of what was discovered, invented, and thought out by man during the unmeasured epochs before recorded history opens cannot fail to have impressed us with the fact that a vast estate was transmitted by prehistoric to historic man.

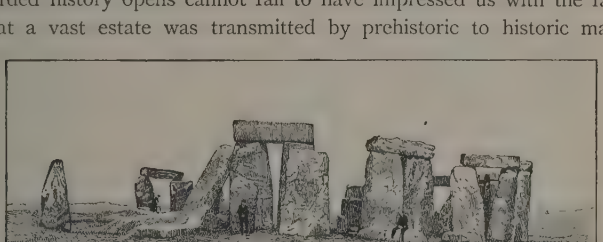


FIG. 11. STONEHENGE. (From a photograph)

This imposing huge stone monument on Salisbury Plain, England, probably dates from about the end in western Europe of the New Stone Age or from the beginning of the Bronze Age (between 1500 and 2000 B.C.). Some archæologists regard the structure as a sepulchral monument; others suppose it to have been a shrine for sun-worship

If our hasty glance at those far-away times has done nothing more than to do this, then we shall never again regard history quite as may have been our wont. We shall see everything in a new light. We shall see the story of man to be more wonderful than we once thought, the path which he has followed to be longer and more toilsome than we before imagined.

But our interest in the traveler will have been deepened through our knowing something of his early hard and narrow life, and of his first painful steps in the path of civilization. We shall follow with deeper interest and sympathy this wonderful being, child of earth and child of heaven, this heir of all the ages, as he journeys on and upward with his face toward the light.

References. OSBORN,[1] *Men of the Old Stone Age* ("The most important work on the evolution of our own species that has appeared since Darwin's 'Descent of Man.'"—Theodore Roosevelt). SOLLAS, *Ancient Hunters*. MYRE, *The Dawn of History*. HOERNES, *Primitive Man*. ELLIOT, *Prehistoric Man and his Story*. JOLY, *Man before Metals*. KEARY, *The Dawn of History*. STARR, *Some First Steps in Human Progress*. TYLOR, *Anthropology*, chaps. iv, vii, "Language" and "Writing"; *Primitive Culture*, 2 vols. LUBBOCK, *Prehistoric Times*. MASON, *First Steps in Human Culture* and *The Origin of Invention*. DAVENPORT, *Domesticated Animals and Plants*. SHALER, *Domesticated Animals*. HOFFMANN, *The Beginnings of Writing*. CLODD, *The Story of the Alphabet*. TAYLOR, *The Alphabet*, 2 vols. FERGUSSON, *Rude Stone Monuments*. HOLBROOK, *Cave, Mound, and Lake Dwellers* (juvenile).

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The relation of domesticated animals to man's advance in civilization: Shaler, *Domesticated Animals*, pp. 103–151; Davenport, *Domesticated Animals and Plants*, chap. i. 2. The making and the use of fire: Mason, *The Origin of Invention*, chap. iii, and *First Steps in Human Culture*, chaps. i, ii; Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, chap. xxvii. 3. The origin of writing: Hoffmann, *The Beginnings of Writing*; Mason, *First Steps in Human Culture*, chap. xxi; Tylor, *Anthropology*, chap. vii; Keary, *The Dawn of History*, chaps. xii, xiii. 4. The dawn of art: Reinach, *Apollo*, pp. 1–9; Parkyn, *Introduction to the Study of Prehistoric Art*, chaps. iii, iv. 5. How the great stones were moved: Frobenius, *The Childhood of Man*, pp. 428–429. 6. Marett, *Anthropology*, chap. ii, "Antiquity of Man."

[1] For full names of authors and further information concerning works cited, see list at end of book.

CHAPTER II

RACES AND GROUPS OF PEOPLES

13. Subdivisions of the Historic Age. We begin now our study of the Historic Age — a record of about six or seven thousand years. The story of these millenniums is usually divided into three parts — Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History. Ancient History begins, as already indicated, with the earliest peoples of which we can gain any certain knowledge through written records, and extends to the break-up of the Roman Empire in the West, in the fifth century A.D. Mediæval History embraces the period, the so-called Middle Ages, about one thousand years in length, lying between the fall of Rome and the discovery of the New World by Columbus, 1492 A.D. Modern History commences with the close of the mediæval period and extends to the present time.[1] It is Ancient History alone with which we shall be concerned in the present volume.

14. The Races of Mankind in the Historic Period. Distinctions mainly in bodily characteristics, such as form, color, and features, divide the human species into many types or races, of which the three chief are known as the Black or Ethiopian Race, the Yellow or Mongolian Race, and the White or Caucasian Race.[2] But we must not suppose each of these three types to be sharply marked off from the others; they shade into one another by insensible gradations. There is a great number of intermediate types or subraces.

[1] It is thought preferable by some scholars to let the decisive beginning of the great Teutonic migration (376 A.D.), or the restoration of the Empire by Charlemagne (800 A.D.), mark the end of the period of Ancient History, and to call all after that Modern History. Some also prefer to date the beginning of the modern period from the capture of Constantinople by the Turks (1453 A.D.); while still others speak of it in a general way as commencing about the close of the fifteenth century, at which time there were many inventions and discoveries, and great movements in the intellectual world.

[2] The classification given is simply a convenient and practical one (see table, p. 22). It disregards various minor groups of uncertain ethnic relationship.

We assume the original unity of the human race. It is probable that the physical and mental differences of existing races arose through their ancestors having been subjected to different climatic influences and to different conditions of life through long periods of prehistoric time. There has been no perceptible change in the great types of mankind during the historic period. The paintings upon the oldest Egyptian monuments show us that at the dawn of history the principal races were as distinctly marked as now, each bearing its racial badge of color and physiognomy.

FIG. 12. NEGRO CAPTIVES (From the monuments of Thebes)

Illustrating the permanence of race characteristics

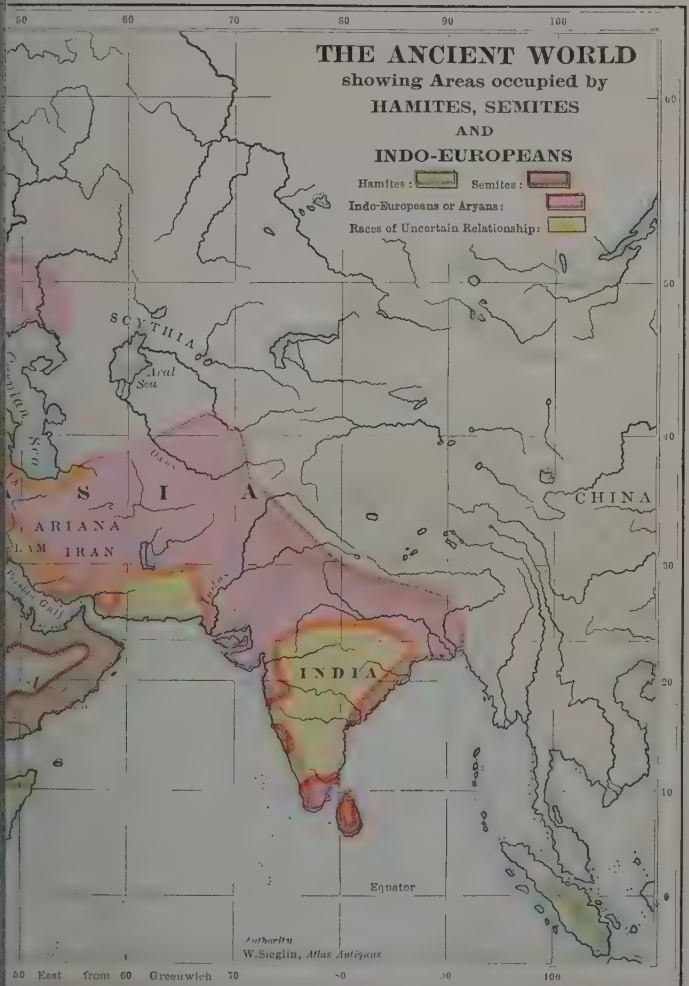
15. The Black Race. Africa south of the Sahara is the true home of the typical folk (the negroes) of the Black Race, but we find them on all the other continents and on many of the islands of the seas, whither they have migrated or been carried as slaves by the stronger races; for since time immemorial they have been "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for their more favored brethren.

16. The Yellow or Mongolian Race. Eastern and northern Asia is the central seat of the Mongolian Race. Many of the Mongolian tribes are pastoral nomads, who roam over the vast Asian plains north of the great ranges of the Himalayas; their leading part in history has been to harass peoples of settled habits.

But the most important peoples of this type are the Japanese and the Chinese. The latter constitute probably a fifth or more of the entire population of the earth. Already in times very remote this people had developed a civilization quite advanced on various lines, but having reached a certain stage in culture they did not continue to make so marked a progress. Not until recent times did either the Chinese or the Japanese become a factor of significance in world history.

17. The White or Caucasian Race and its Three Groups. The so-called White or Caucasian Race embraces almost all of the historic nations. Its chief peoples fall into three groups — the Hamitic, the

ATLANTIC OCEAN
EUROPE
ITALY
Black Sea
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
GREECE
Cyprus
Memphis
EGYPT
Thebes
Tropic of Cancer
ETHIOPIA
Nile
RED SEA
AFRICA
Equator
THE MATHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS BUFFALO N.Y.


THE ANCIENT WORLD
showing Areas occupied by
HAMITES, SEMITES
AND
INDO-EUROPEANS
Hamites:
Semites:
Indo-Europeans or Aryans:
Races of Uncertain Relationship:
SCYTHIA
Aral Sea
Caspian Sea
Oxus
ASIA
ARIANA
IRAN
Persian Gulf
Indus
INDIA
CHINA
Equator
Authority
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus
50 East from 60 Greenwich 70
100

Semitic, and the Indo-European or Aryan.[1] The members forming any one of these groups must not be looked upon as kindred in blood; the only certain bond uniting the peoples of each group is the bond of language.

The ancient Egyptians were the most remarkable people of the Hamitic branch. In the gray dawn of history we discover them already settled in the valley of the Nile, and there erecting great monuments so faultless in construction as to render it certain that those who planned them had had long previous training in the art of building.

The Semitic family includes among its chief peoples the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, the Aramæans, the Arabians, and the Abyssinians. Most scholars regard Arabia as the original home of this family, and this peninsula certainly seems to have been the great distributing center.

It is interesting to note that three great monotheistic religions (that is, religions teaching the doctrine of one god) — the Hebrew, the Christian, and the Mohammedan — arose among peoples belonging to the Semitic family.

The peoples of Indo-European speech form the most widely dispersed group of the White Race. They include the ancient Greeks and Romans, all the peoples of modern Europe (save the Basques, the Finns and Lapps, the Magyars or Hungarians, and the Turks), together with the Persians, the Hindus, and some other Asian peoples.[2]

[1] The application of the name *Aryan* is by some historians restricted to the Indo-Iranian branch (Hindus and Persians) of the Indo-European peoples. The term, however, has been long and generally used as the equivalent of Indo-European or Indo-Germanic (cf. Schrader, *The Prehistoric Civilization of the Aryan Peoples*; Taylor, *The Origin of the Aryans*, etc.), and is still very commonly used in the same sense by careful scholars of the highest authority. It should be carefully noted that where the term *Indo-European* is applied to a people it simply means that the people thus designated use an Indo-European language, and that it does not mean that they are related by blood to any other people of Indo-European speech. Physical or racial relationships cannot be determined by the test of language. Think of the millions of English-speaking African negroes in the United States! For a masterly discussion of the question of the ethnic types or races making up the population of Europe, see Ripley, *The Races of Europe*.

[2] The kinship in speech of all these peoples is most plainly shown by the similar form and meaning of certain words in their different languages, as, for example, the word *father*, which occurs with but little change in several of the Aryan tongues (Sanscrit, *pitri*; Persian, *padar*; Greek, πατήρ; Latin, *pater*; German, *Vater*).

18. The Indo-European or Aryan Expansion. Long before the dawn of history in Europe, the clans and tribes of the hitherto undivided Indo-European family began to break up and to push themselves among older and more civilized peoples. They came probably from the steppe lands of central Asia.[1]

Some of these tribes in the course of their wanderings found their way out upon the table-lands of Iran and into the great river plains of India. They subjugated the aborigines of these lands and communicated to them their language. These Aryan invaders and the natives, thus Aryanized in speech and probably somewhat changed in blood, became the progenitors of the Persians and the Hindus of history.[2]

Other tribes of the family, either through peaceful expansion, through social relations, or through conquest, had in times still prehistoric made Indo-European in speech, though probably very partially so in blood, the native pre-Aryan peoples of almost every part of Europe.[3]

[1] Some scholars have sought the early home of the primitive Aryan community in southern Russia, others in the Baltic regions of Europe, and still others in central Asia in the region of the Oxus. The recent discovery (1907-1908) in East Turkestan of documents dating from about 500 A.D., and written in an Indo-Germanic language *related to those of western Europe*, gives probability to the opinion that the cradle of the Indo-Germanic folk was the high grasslands of central Asia north of the great Asian mountain zone. See Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, I², 891, 3. Aufl.

[2] It is very important to note that in every case where a people of non-Aryan speech gave up their own language and adopted that of their Aryan (Indo-Germanic) conquerors, there must have taken place at the same time almost necessarily a mingling of the blood of the two races. "Thus it will be correct to say that an Aryan strain permeates all or most of the groups now speaking Aryan tongues." — KEANE, *Ethnology* (Cambridge Geographical Series, 1896), p. 396.

[3] This prehistoric Indo-European expansion can best be made plain by the use of an historical parallel — the Roman expansion. From their cradle city on the Tiber, the ancient Romans — a folk Indo-European in speech if not in race — went out as conquerors and colonizers of the Mediterranean world. Wherever they went they carried their language and their civilization with them. Many of the peoples whom they subjected gave up their own speech, and along with the civilization of their conquerors adopted also their language. In this way a large part of the ancient world became Romanized in speech and culture. When the Roman Empire broke up, there arose a number of Latin-speaking nations — among these, the French, Spaniards, and Portuguese. During the modern age these Romanized nations, through conquest and colonization, have spread their Latin speech and civilization over a great part of the New World. Thus it has come about that to-day the language of the ancient Romans, differentiated into many dialects, is spoken by peoples spread over the earth from Rumania

Although the Indo-European expansion movement began so long ago, probably in the third millennium B.C., still we should not think of it as something past and ended. The outward movement in modern times of the peoples of Europe, that is to say, the expansion of Europe into Greater Europe and the Europeanizing of the world, is merely the continuation in the light of history of the earlier Indo-European expansion which went on in the obscurity of the prehistoric ages.

Thus we see what leading parts, after what we may call the Semitic Age, peoples of Indo-European speech have borne in the great drama of history.

References. RIPLEY, *The Races of Europe*. KEANE, *Ethnology* and *Man, Past and Present*. DENIKER, *The Races of Man*. SERGI, *The Mediterranean Race*. RATZEL, *The History of Mankind*, 2 vols. KEITH, *Ancient Types of Man*. BRINTON, *Races and Peoples*. TAYLOR, *The Origin of the Aryans*. SCHRADER, *The Prehistoric Civilization of the Aryan Peoples*.

in eastern Europe to Chile in South America. All these peoples we call Latins, not because they are all descended from the ancient Romans, — in fact they belong to many different ethnic stocks, — but because they all speak languages derived from the old Roman speech. Just as we use the term *Latin* here, so do we use the term *Indo-European* in connection with the peoples of Indo-European speech.

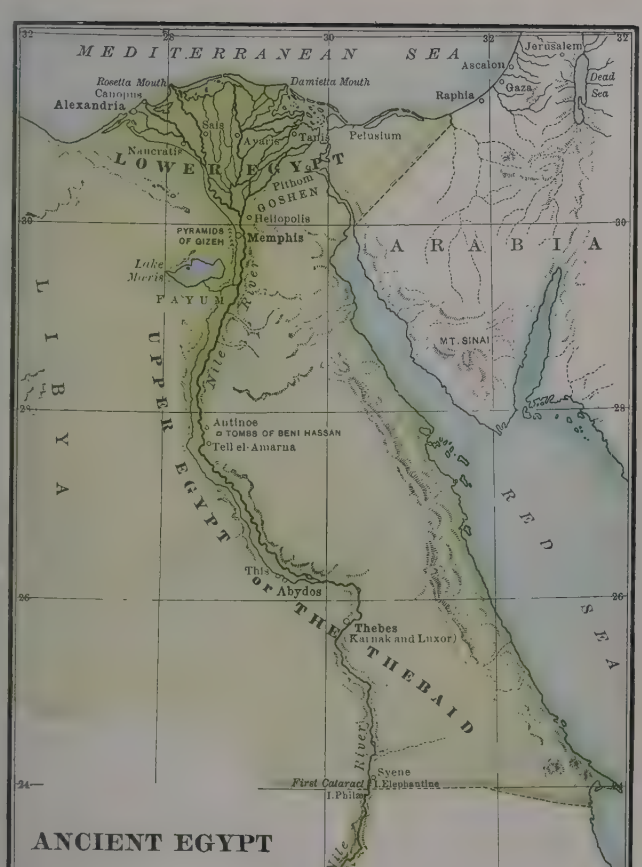
A WORKING CLASSIFICATION OF THE PRINCIPAL RACES AND PEOPLES

The larger divisions (races) are based on physical characteristics, the subdivisions of the White Race are based on language

- **Black Race** (Ethiopian or Negro) — Tribes and peoples whose true home is central and southern Africa.
- **Yellow Race** (Mongolian) — (1) The Chinese, Japanese, and kindred peoples of eastern Asia; (2) the nomads (Tartars, Mongols, etc.) of northern and central Asia and of eastern Russia; (3) the Turks, the Magyars or Hungarians, and the Finns and Lapps, in Europe.[1] Some consider the American Indians a branch of the Yellow Race; others consider them a distinct race — the Red Race.
- **White Race** (Caucasian)
  - Hamites — Egyptians, Libyans[2] (modern Berbers).
  - Semites — Babylonians, Assyrians, Phœnicians, Hebrews, Aramæans, Arabians, Abyssinians.
  - Indo-Europeans or Aryans
    - Asiatics — Hindus, Medes, Persians, Armenians, Scythians.
    - Classical peoples — Greeks, Romans.
    - Celts — Gauls, Britons, etc.
    - Teutons — Germans, English, Scandinavians.
    - Slavs — Russians, Poles, Serbians, etc.

[1] In the case of many if not all of these peoples the Mongolian type has been modified through fusion with other races. The Mongolian intruders in Europe through fusion with peoples of Caucasian blood have lost almost entirely the Mongolian features.

[2] The Egyptians and Libyans, together with the Iberians (in Spain), the Ligurians (in Italy), and the "Pelasgians" (in Greece), are branches of the "Mediterranean Race" of Sergi.


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Jerusalem
Ascalon
Gaza
Dead Sea
Raphia
Rosetta Mouth
Canopus
Alexandria
Damietta Mouth
Sais
Tanis
Pelusium
Naucratis
LOWER EGYPT
Pithom
GOSHEN
Heliopolis
PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH
Memphis
Lake Moeris
FAYUM
ARABIA
LIBYA
Nile River
MT. SINAI
Gulf of Suez
RED SEA
Antinoe
TOMBS OF BENI HASSAN
Tell el-Amarna
UPPER EGYPT or THE THEBAID
This
Abydos
Thebes
(Karnak and Luxor)
Syene
First Cataract
Elephantine
I. Philæ
ANCIENT EGYPT
0 20 40 60 80 100 120 140
Scale of Miles
Longitude east from Paris
Abu Simbel
or Ipsambul
ETHIOPIA
(NUBIA)
Second Cataract
32
30
28
26
24
22

PART I. THE EASTERN PEOPLES

CHAPTER III

ANCIENT EGYPT

(From earliest times to 30 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

19. Egypt and the Nile. The Egypt of history comprises the Delta of the Nile and the narrow valley of its lower course. These rich lands were formed in past geologic ages from the sediment brought down by the river in seasons of flood. The Delta was known to the ancients as Lower Egypt, while the valley proper, reaching from the head of the Delta to the First Cataract,[1] a distance of six hundred miles, was called Upper Egypt.

Through the same means by which Egypt was originally created is the land each year still renewed and fertilized;[2] hence an old

[1] About seven hundred miles from the Mediterranean, low ledges of rocks stretching across the Nile form the first obstruction to navigation in passing up the river. The rapids found here are termed the First Cataract. At this point the divided river forms the beautiful islet of Philæ, "The Pearl of Egypt," now submerged by the waters of the great Assuan reservoir.

[2] The rate of the fluviatile deposit is from three to five inches in a century. The surface of the valley at Thebes, as shown by the accumulations about the monuments, has been raised about seven feet during the last seventeen hundred years.

Greek historian, in happy phrase, called the country "the gift of the Nile." Swollen by heavy tropical rains and the melting snows of the mountains about its sources, the Nile begins to rise in its lower parts late in June, and in two or three months, when the inundation has attained its greatest height, the country presents the appearance of a turbid sea.

FIG. 13. PLOUGHING AND SOWING
(From a papyrus)

By the end of November the river has returned to its bed, leaving the fields covered with a film of rich earth. In a few weeks after the sowing, the entire land, so recently a flooded plain, is overspread with a sea of verdure, which forms a striking contrast to the desert sands and barren hills that rim the valley.

20. Climate and Products. In Lower Egypt, near the sea, the rainfall in the winter is abundant; but the climate of Upper Egypt is all but rainless, only a few slight showers, as a rule, falling throughout the year.[1] This dryness of the Egyptian air is what has preserved through so many thousand years, in such wonderful freshness of color and with such sharpness of outline, the numerous paintings and sculptures of the monuments of the country.

FIG. 14. REAPING THE GRAIN
(From a papyrus)

The southern line of Egypt only just touches the tropics; still the climate, influenced by the wide and hot deserts that hem the valley, is semitropical in character. The fruits of the tropics and the cereals of the temperate zone grow here luxuriantly. Thus favored in climate as well as in the matter of irrigation, Egypt became in early times the granary of the East. To it less favored countries, when stricken by famine, — a calamity so common in the East

[1] At irregular intervals of a few years, however, there occurs a real cloud-burst, and the mud-built villages of the natives are literally half dissolved and washed into the river.

in regions dependent upon the rainfall, — looked for food, as did the families of Israel during drought and failure of crops in Palestine.

21. The Prehistoric or Predynastic Age. The existence of man in Egypt long before the opening there of the historic period is evidenced by the stone implements, belonging to both the earlier and the later Stone Age, which are found in great numbers on the edges of the neighboring desert and in the numerous graves that in places fill the sands of the river valley. The flints lying on the surface of the desert are of the Old Stone Age type. Beyond what we may infer from these weathered stone implements, we know nothing of Paleolithic man in Egypt. The contents of the graves, however, belong to the New Stone Age; and these burial outfits (cf. sect. 5), along with other evidences that we possess, tell us something of the culture and of the manner of life of the men of this epoch. By the opening of the historic era — that is, before the end of the fifth millennium B.C. — they had taken great steps towards civilization. They lived in villages, and probably had even created little city-kingdoms. They engaged in the tillage of the soil, and hunted the wild creatures which infested the forest and jungles which then covered much of the river valley.[1] They had knowledge of copper, but seem generally to have used stone implements, in the manufacture of which they had acquired wonderful skill. They possessed a system of writing, which, along with the other elements of their culture, they transmitted to the Egyptians of the historic period.

22. The Pharaoh and the Dynasties. The rulers of historic Egypt bore the royal title or common name of *Pharaoh*. The Pharaohs that reigned in the country up to the conquest of Alexander the Great (332 B.C.) are grouped in thirty-one dynasties. Thirty of these we find in the lists of Manetho, an Egyptian priest who lived in the third century B.C., and who compiled in the Greek language a chronicle of the Pharaohs.[2] The history of these thirty-one dynasties covers more

[1] Still earlier, possibly in the Old Stone Age, forests grew also on the now sterile plateaus bordering the valley. The petrified remains of these forests, like the fossilized forests of Arizona in our own country, now lie strewn in places over the desert. One of these mummified forests is easily visited from the modern city of Cairo.

[2] The first ten of these dynasties comprise what is usually called the Old Kingdom (the grouping here by Egyptologists is not uniform, some including in this group only

than half of the entire period of authentic history. Almost three millenniums of this history lie back of the beginnings of the historic period in Greece and Italy.

FIG. 15. IVORY STATUETTE OF A KING OF THE FIRST DYNASTY[2]
(From Petrie's *Abydos*, Part II)

23. Menes and the First Dynasty (date not later than 3200 B.C.[1]). In the earliest prehistoric period Egypt seems to have been divided into numerous little kingdoms. In the course of time these came to form two states, one in the north and one in the south. Then these were united into a single kingdom. Tradition makes Menes to have been the founder of the First Dynasty of the dual kingdom, and thus the first of the Pharaohs.

The essential fact respecting Egyptian culture under the First Dynasty is that most of the elements of the later civilization are found here, not in germ, but in a surprisingly advanced stage of maturity. Sculpture had reached a stage far beyond primitive rudeness, and the writing system had been already practically perfected. Copper was in use, though most

five dynasties and others six or more); the eleventh and twelfth form what is known as the Middle Kingdom; the next five cover a period of disorder and the rule of the Hyksos, Asiatic intruders; and the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth constitute what is commonly designated as the New Empire. The remaining dynasties represent a period of decadence and revival, and the rule mainly of foreigners and conquerors.

[1] Egyptologists are not yet in agreement as to the date of Menes. Flinders Petrie puts his reign at about 5500 B.C. In the present edition we have adopted the Berlin dating.

[2] Found by Flinders Petrie at Abydos in 1903. "Clad in his thick embroidered robes, this old king, wily yet feeble with the weight of years, stands for diplomacy and statecraft of the oldest civilized kingdom that we know" (Petrie). "One of the greatest treasures of the British Museum." — HALL

PLATE III. THE GREAT SPHINX AND THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH. (From a photograph)

of the weapons and implements were still of stone, bone, and wood. Many of the stone utensils were of exquisite workmanship. There had been worked out a calendar which remained unchanged to the end of Egyptian history.[1]

24. The Fourth Dynasty (about 2900–2750 B.C.): the Pyramid Builders. The Egyptian architects at first used chiefly crude brick, and constructed tombs and other buildings of only small dimensions; the age of gigantic stone construction began with the Pharaohs of the Fourth Dynasty, who reigned at Memphis and are called the pyramid builders, though there were pyramids constructed both before and long after this, but none on such an immense scale as those erected at this period.

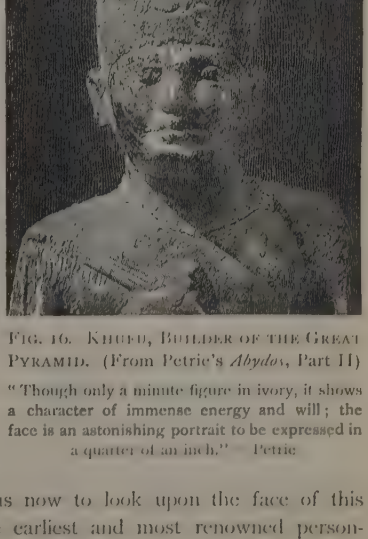


FIG. 16. KHUFU, BUILDER OF THE GREAT PYRAMID. (From Petrie's *Abydos*, Part II)

"Though only a minute figure in ivory, it shows a character of immense energy and will; the face is an astonishing portrait to be expressed in a quarter of an inch." — Petrie

Khufu, the Cheops of the Greeks, was the greatest of the pyramid builders. He constructed the Great Pyramid, at Gizeh,— "the greatest mass of masonry that has ever been put together by mortal man."[2] A recent fortunate discovery enables us now to look upon the face of this Khufu (Fig. 16), one of the earliest and most renowned personages of the ancient world.

To some king of this same early family of pyramid builders is also ascribed, by some authorities, the wonderful sculpture of the

[1] Egyptologists place the introduction of this calendar in the year 4241 B.C. — about one thousand years before Menes.

[2] This pyramid rises from a base covering thirteen acres to a height of four hundred and fifty feet. According to Herodotus, Cheops employed one hundred thousand men for twenty years in its erection.

gigantic human-headed Sphinx at the foot of the Great Pyramid — the largest statue in the world.

These sepulchral monuments, for the pyramids were the tombs of the Pharaohs who constructed them (sect. 39), and the great Sphinx are the most venerable memorials of the early world that have been preserved to us. Although standing so far back in the gray dawn of the historic morning, they mark, in the marvelous granite lining of their chambers and the colonnades of their chapels, not the beginning but in some respects the perfection of Egyptian architecture. And as with architecture so was it with portrait sculpture, which during this period attained a perfection that has hardly ever been surpassed.[1]

FIG. 17. THE "SHEIKH-EL-BELED." (Gizeh Museum)

Supposed portrait statue, carved in wood, of one of the overseers of the work on the Great Pyramid. This is one of the masterpieces of Egyptian sculpture

25. The Twelfth Dynasty (about 2000–1800 B.C.). After the Sixth Dynasty, Egypt for several centuries is almost lost from view. When finally the valley emerges from the obscurity of this period, the old city of Memphis, for long the residence of the Pharaohs, has receded into the background and the city of Thebes has taken its place as the seat of the royal power.

The period of the Twelfth Dynasty, a line of Theban kings, is one of the brightest in Egyptian history. It has been called Egypt's golden age. One of the most notable achievements of the period was the improvement made by one of the Pharaohs in the irrigation of the Fayum oasis in the desert west of Memphis. This district consists of a great depression, part of which, like the Imperial Valley of California, lies below the

[1] The portrait sculpture of this age represents the second great art of the early world — the first being the amazing art (thousands of years earlier) of the hunter-artists of the Old Stone Age in Europe (cf. sect. 4).

sea level. It contains a lake fed by a branch of the Nile. By various engineering means the storage and distribution of the flood waters of the season of inundation were regulated, and the area of cultivation was thus greatly extended.

26. Period of Obscurity and of the Rule of the Hyksos (about 1800–1580 B.C.). Soon after the bright period of the Twelfth Dynasty, Egypt again underwent a great eclipse. Tribes of unknown race from Asia pressed across the frontier of Egypt and set up in the valley what was called the rule of the "Shepherd Kings." These intruders soon adopted the manners and culture of the people they had subjected. After they had ruled in the valley probably upwards of a century, an end was put to their dominion by the Theban kings, whom they had made vassals. It is thought by some scholars that it was during the supremacy of the Hyksos that the families of Israel found a refuge in Lower Egypt.

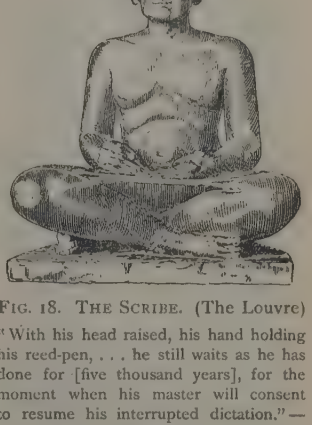


FIG. 18. THE SCRIBE. (The Louvre)
"With his head raised, his hand holding his reed-pen, . . . he still waits as he has done for [five thousand years], for the moment when his master will consent to resume his interrupted dictation." — Maspero

The rule of the Hyksos in the Nile-land derives special importance from the fact that these intruders introduced into Egypt from Asia the horse and the war chariot, which now appear for the first time on the monuments of the country. From this period forward the war chariot holds a place of first importance in the armaments of the Pharaohs.

27. The Eighteenth Dynasty (about 1580–1350 B.C.). The most eventful period of Egyptian history, covered by what is called the New Empire, now opens. The Pharaohs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the first of this epoch of imperialism, in order to free Egypt from the danger of another invasion from Asia, endeavored to extend their authority over Syria. In the pursuit of this object they made

numerous campaigns in Asia. Under Thothmes[1] III, who because of his wide conquests has been called "the Alexander of Egyptian history," the empire attained its greatest extension, stretching from the upper reaches of the Nile to the Middle Euphrates.

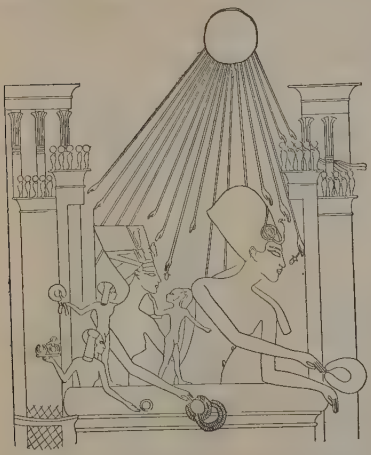


FIG. 19. AMENHOTEP IV AND FAMILY BESTOWING GIFTS. (From a tomb at Tell el-Amarna)

The life-giving and sustaining power of the sun, whose radiant energy is conceived as the sole source of life and movement in the universe, is symbolized by streaming rays, each ending in an outstretched hand. This striking emblem was an entirely new type in Egyptian symbolism

The conquest of Syria brought vast wealth in booty and tribute to the Pharaohs, and this gave a great impulse to the arts and industries of the Nile-land. The monarchs gave much attention to the erection and adornment of sacred edifices. Thothmes had a great share in this work. It was to him that the Temple of Karnak at Thebes, the remains of which form the most majestic ruin in the world, owed much of its splendor. His obelisks stand to-day in Constantinople, Rome, London, and New York.

And perhaps it was the widening of Egypt's outlook that accounts for the appearance at this time of a religious reformer — a surprising thing in conservative Egypt. It was one of the Pharaohs of this Eighteenth Dynasty, Amenhotep IV (about 1350 B.C.), known as the "heretic king,"[2] who tried

[1] Or Thutmose, Greek Thutmosis. The Egyptian writing being without vowels, the form of many names is uncertain.

[2] The name of this Pharaoh is connected with one of the most interesting and important discoveries ever made on oriental ground. This was the discovery in 1887, at Tell el-Amarna, on the Nile, of several hundred letters, written in the Babylonian

PLATE IV. RUINS OF THE GREAT HALL OF COLUMNS AT KARNAK.
(From a photograph)

to do away with the worship of many divinities and to establish the worship of one God. The deity thus raised to single sovereignty was the old Egyptian sun-god, whose suggestive new symbol — the old human and animal emblems were cast aside — was the sun's disk represented with streaming rays, each ending in a human hand extended as if in blessing (Fig. 19). So far as we know, this was the earliest attempt in the history of the world to establish monotheism.[1] The reform, however, failed. Amenhotep was too far in advance of his age. Upon his death the new capital city which he had founded at Tell el-Amarna, below Thebes, was destroyed, his memory was consigned to eternal infamy, and Egypt resumed or rather continued — for the masses never in heart accepted the new creed — its worship of many gods. Monotheism was not to go forth from Egypt, but from Judea.[2]

FIG. 20. DETAIL OF RELIEF PORTRAYING VICTORY OF RAMESES II OVER THE KHETA AT KADESH, ON THE ORONTES

"First aid" being administered to a half-drowned chieftain by his soldiers holding him head downwards

language and script and comprising the correspondence, not only between the reigning Pharaoh and the kings of Assyria and Babylonia, but also between the Egyptian court and the Egyptian governors and vassal kings of various Syrian towns. The significance of this discovery consists in the revelation it makes of the deep hold that the civilization of Babylon had upon the Syrian lands centuries before the Hebrew invasion of Palestine. This means that the Hebrew development took place in an environment charged with elements of Babylonian culture.

[1] See Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (1912), lect. ix.

[2] The interpretation of this religious movement which we have adopted in the text is not, it should be said, accepted by all Egyptologists. Some regard the reformer as a henotheist or monolatrist rather than a pure monotheist.

28. The Nineteenth Dynasty (about 1350–1205 B.C.). The Pharaohs of the Nineteenth Dynasty rival those of the Eighteenth in their fame as conquerors and builders. It is largely their deeds and works, in connection with those of the great rulers of the preceding dynasty, that have given Egypt such a name and place in history. The greatest name of this dynasty is that of Rameses or Ramses II (about 1292–1225 B.C.), the Sesostris of the Greeks. Ancient writers accorded him the first place among all the Egyptian sovereigns, and told most exaggerated stories of his conquests and achievements. His long reign, embracing sixty-seven years, was, however, well occupied with the superintendence of great architectural works, of which there are more connected with his name than with that of any other oriental ruler.

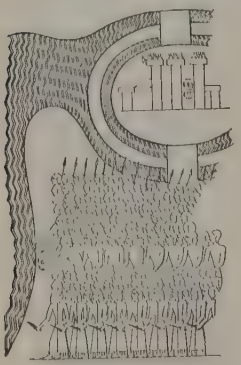


FIG. 21. PHALANX OF THE HITTITES

In the background, town protected by walls and moats

The chief of Rameses' wars were those against the Kheta, the Hittites of the Bible, who at this time were maintaining an extensive empire, embracing in the main the interior uplands of Asia Minor and northern Syria. We find Rameses at last concluding with them a celebrated treaty of peace and alliance, in which the chief of the Hittites is formally recognized as in every respect the equal of the Pharaoh of Egypt. The meaning of this alliance was that the Pharaohs had met their peers in the princes of the Hittites, and that they could no longer hope to become masters of western Asia.

It is the opinion of some scholars that this Rameses II was the oppressor of the children of Israel, the Pharaoh who "made their lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service in the field,"[1] and that what is known as the Exodus took place in the reign of his son Merneptah (about 1225–1215 B.C.).

[1] Exod. i, 4.

29. The Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663–625 B.C.). We pass without comment a long period of several centuries, marked indeed by great vicissitudes in the fortunes of the Egyptian monarchs, yet characterized on the whole by a sure and rapid decline in the power and splendor of their empire.[1] During the latter part of this period Egypt was tributary to Ethiopia[2] or to Assyria; but a native prince, Psammetichus by name, with the aid of Greek mercenaries, "bronze men who came up from the sea," drove out the foreign garrisons. Psammetichus thus became the founder of the Twenty-sixth Dynasty (663 B.C.).

Owing his throne chiefly to the swords of Greek soldiers, Psammetichus was led to open the country even more completely than

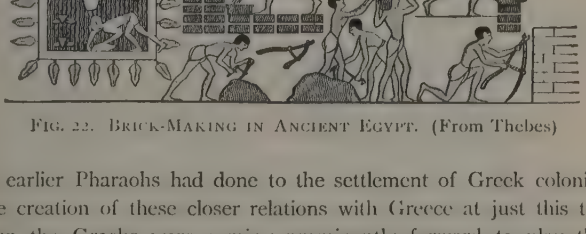


FIG. 22. BRICK-MAKING IN ANCIENT EGYPT. (From Thebes)

the earlier Pharaohs had done to the settlement of Greek colonists. The creation of these closer relations with Greece at just this time when the Greeks were coming prominently forward to play their great part in history was a most significant event. From this time on, Greek philosophers are represented as becoming pupils of the Egyptian priests; and without question the learning and philosophy of the old Egyptians exercised a profound influence upon the open,

[1] The most important episode in the history of this period was an attempted invasion of Egypt by sea raiders whom the Egyptian records called the "Peoples of the Sea." They were met and defeated somewhere along the Syrian coast by Rameses III (about 1200 B.C.). These sea folk are believed to have been Ægean peoples — Cretans, Lycians, etc. The Greeks it seems were at this time pressing into the Greek peninsula from the north, and were subjecting or driving out the native inhabitants of the Ægean shorelands and islands (sect. 152). A part of the raiders settled on the coast plain of Palestine and became the formidable enemies of the Israelites — the Philistines of the Bible writers (sect. 80).

[2] The Twenty-fifth Dynasty was Ethiopian. This is the sole instance of the appearance of the Black Race in Mediterranean or world history.

receptive mind of the Greek race, that was, in its turn, to become the teacher of the world.

With the name of Necho II (610–594 B.C.), the son of Psammetichus, is connected an adventurous undertaking — the circumnavigation of Africa.[1] For this exploring expedition Necho is said to have engaged Phœnician sailors. The feat of sailing around the continent, there is reason to believe, was actually accomplished; for the historian Herodotus, in his account of the enterprise, says that the voyagers upon their return reported that when they were rounding the Cape the sun was on their right hand (to the north). This feature of the report, which led Herodotus to disbelieve it, is to us fairly good evidence that the voyage was really performed.

30. The Last of the Pharaohs. Before the end of Necho's reign Egypt lost to Babylon its possessions in Asia, and a little later (525 B.C.) bowed beneath the Persian yoke. Only for a little space did she ever again regain her independence. From about the middle of the fourth century B.C. to the present day no native prince has sat upon the throne of the Pharaohs.[2]

Upon the extension of the power of the Macedonians and the Greeks over the East through the conquests of Alexander the Great (Chapter XXV), Egypt willingly accepted them as masters; and for three centuries the valley was the seat of the renowned Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies. The Romans finally annexed the region to their all-absorbing empire (30 B.C.).

"The mission of Egypt among the nations was fulfilled; it had lit the torch of civilization in ages inconceivably remote, and had passed it on to other peoples of the West."

II. THE CIVILIZATION

31. The Government. From first to last the government of ancient Egypt bore a sacred character. The Pharaoh was regarded as divine, as the son and representative of the sun-god. Three thousand years and more after Menes, Alexander the Great, after his conquest of the

1 See Herodotus, iv, 42.

2 See Ezek. xxx, 13: "There shall be no more a prince out of the land of Egypt."

PLATE V. FAÇADE OF ROCK TEMPLE AT IPSAMBUL. (From a photograph)

country, thought to strengthen his position by causing himself to be proclaimed the son of the highest of the Egyptian gods (sect. 283).

The authority of the divine Pharaoh was in theory absolute, but in practice was limited by a nobility and a powerful priesthood.[1] The nation seemed almost to exist for the god-king. The construction of his pyramid tomb, or his vast rock sepulcher and its attached temple, laid under heavy tribute the labor and resources of the nation.

Taxes were paid in kind, that is, in the products of field and workshop, for the ancient Egyptians did not, until late in their history, use coined money. All the salaries of officials and the wages of workmen were paid in the provisions or articles received by the government in payment of tribute or taxes. This system necessitated

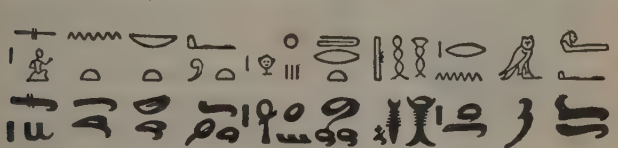


FIG. 23. FORMS OF EGYPTIAN WRITING

The top line is hieroglyphic script; the bottom line is the same text in hieratic

the erection of immense storehouses, granaries, and stables for the storing of the grain, wine, and cattle received by the tax collectors. The building of these warehouses was, as we learn from the Bible narrative, one of the tasks required of the Israelites: "Therefore they did set over them taskmasters to afflict them with their burdens. And they built for Pharaoh treasure-cities, Pithom and Raamses."[2]

32. The Egyptian System of Writing. One of the greatest achievements of the ancient Egyptians was the working out of a system of writing. By the middle of the fourth millennium B.C. this system had passed through all the stages which we have already indicated as marking the usual development of a written language (sect. 11). But the curious thing about the system was this: when

[1] The sacerdotal order was at certain periods a dominant force in the state. They enjoyed freedom from taxation, and met the expenses of the temple service mainly from the income of the sacred lands, which are said to have embraced, at one period, one third of the soil of the country.

[2] Exod. i, 11.

an improved method of writing had been worked out the old method was not discarded. Hence the Egyptian writing was partly picture writing and partly alphabetic writing, and exhibited besides all the intermediate forms. The Egyptians, as has been said, had developed an alphabet without knowing it.

Just as we have two forms of letters, one for printing and another for writing, so the Egyptians employed three forms of script: the *hieroglyphic*, in which the pictures and symbols were carefully drawn —a form generally employed in monumental inscriptions; the *hieratic*, a simplified form of the hieroglyphic, adapted to writing, and forming the greater part of the papyrus manuscripts; and later a still simpler form developed from the hieratic, and called by the Greeks *demotic*, that is, the ordinary writing (from *demos*, "the people").

FIG. 24. THE ROSETTA STONE

33. The Rosetta Stone and the Key to Egyptian Writing. The key to the Egyptian writing was discovered by means of the Rosetta Stone, which was found by the French when they invaded Egypt under Napoleon in 1798. This precious relic, a heavy block of black basalt, is now in the British Museum. It holds an inscription in the Egyptian and the Greek language, which is written in three different forms of script — in the Egyptian hieroglyphic and demotic, and in Greek characters. The chief credit of deciphering the Egyptian script and of opening up the long-sealed libraries of Egyptian learning belongs to the French scholar Champollion.

34. Egyptian Literature. The literature opened up to us by the decipherment of the Egyptian hieroglyphics is varied and instructive, revealing as it does the life and thought and scientific attainments of Old Egypt at a time when the Greek world was yet young.[1] There is the ancient *Book of the Dead*, containing instructions for the use

[1] The chief writing material used by the ancient Egyptians was the noted papyrus paper, manufactured from a reed which grew in the marshes and along the water channels of the Nile. From the Greek names of this Egyptian plant, *byblos* and *papyrus*, come our words *Bible* and *paper*.

and guidance of the soul in its perilous journey to the realms of the blessed in the nether world; there are novels or romances, and fairy tales, among these a parallel to "Cinderella and the Glass Slipper"; religious inscriptions, public and private letters, fables, and epics; treatises on medicine and various other scientific subjects; and books on ancient history — in prose and in verse — which fully justify the declaration of Egyptian priests to the Greek philosopher Solon: "You Greeks are mere children; you know nothing at all of the past."[1]

35. The Egyptian Gods. It has been said of man that he is "incurably religious." This could certainly be said of the ancient Egyptians — that is, if we may regard the possession of many gods and anxious concern respecting the life in the hereafter as constituting religion.

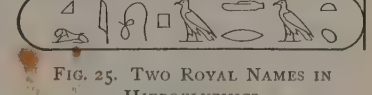


FIG. 25. TWO ROYAL NAMES IN HIEROGLYPHICS

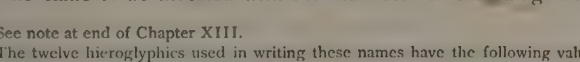
It was the first of these names which gave the clue to the interpretation of the hieroglyphic script. Through a comparison of the two the values of several symbols were definitely determined[2]

Chief of the great Egyptian deities was the sun-god Rä (or Rê), from whom the Pharaohs claimed descent. He was imagined as sailing across the heavens in a sacred bark on a celestial river, and at night returning to the east through subterranean water passages — an adventurous and danger-beset voyage.

Osiris at first was probably the spirit or god of vegetation,[3] but later he came to be invested with the attributes of the sun-god Rä.

[1] See note at end of Chapter XIII.

[2] The twelve hieroglyphics used in writing these names have the following values:



With these the reader will easily decipher the names. It should be noted that the last two signs in the longer word are used merely to indicate that the word is a divine, i.e. royal, feminine proper name, and that for the sake of symmetry one symbol is sometimes placed beneath another. The upper sign should be taken first.

[3] Cf. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (2d ed.), pp. 267 ff.

In his primitive character as the spirit of plants and trees, which die and come to life again each year, he came naturally to be conceived as the god of human resurrection and immortality,[1] and judge and ruler in the realms of the dead.

The god Seth, called Typhon by the Greek writers, was the Satan of later Egyptian mythology. He was the personification of the evil in the world, just as Osiris was the personification of the good.

Besides the great gods[2] there was a multitude of lesser deities, each nome or district and village having its local god or gods.

36. Animal Worship. The Egyptians believed some animals to be incarnations of a god descended from heaven. Thus a god was thought to animate the body of some particular bull, which might be known from certain spots or markings. Upon the death of the sacred bull, or Apis, as he was called, a great search, accompanied with loud lamentation, was made throughout the land for his successor; for the moment the god departed from the dying bull it entered a calf that moment born. The body of the deceased Apis was carefully embalmed, and, amid funeral ceremonies of great expense and magnificence, laid away in a huge granite sarcophagus in the tomb of his predecessors.[3]

FIG. 26. MUMMY OF A SACRED BULL
(From a photograph)

Not only were individual animals held sacred and worshiped, but sometimes whole species, for example, the cat, were regarded as sacred. To kill one of these animals was adjudged the greatest

[1] See Fig. 97 (p. 145) and descriptive note.

[2] These great divinities were often grouped in triads. First in importance among these groups was that of Osiris, Isis (his wife and sister), and Horus their son. The members of this triad were worshiped throughout Egypt.

[3] In 1851 Mariette discovered this sepulchral chamber of the sacred bulls (the Serapeum). It is a narrow gallery two thousand feet in length cut in the limestone cliffs just opposite the site of ancient Memphis. A large number of immense granite coffins and several mummified bulls were found.

impiety. Persons so unfortunate as to kill one through accident were sometimes murdered by the infuriated people.

Many explanations have been given to account for the existence of such a primitive form of worship among so cultured a people as the ancient Egyptians. There can be little doubt that these low elements in their religion were nothing more nor less than the crude ideas and practices of the savage prehistoric tribes of the Nile valley. The Egyptians simply did in the domain of religion what they did in all other domains of their culture — kept the old alongside the new.

37. The Egyptian Doctrine of a Future Life. Among no other people of antiquity did the life after death seem so real and hold so large a place in the thoughts of the living as among the people of Old Egypt. It is difficult to give an account of this belief, for the reason that there were different forms of it held at different times and in different places. But the essential part of the belief was that man has a soul which, aided by magic words and rites, survives the death of the body.[1] Its abode was sometimes thought to be in or near the tomb; again its dwelling place was conceived to be the great western desert, the land of the setting sun, hence the term *westerners* applied to the dead; and still again its abode was imagined to be the starry heavens, or a vast realm beneath the earth.

This belief in a future life, taken in connection with certain ideas respecting the nature of the soul's existence in the other world and of its needs, reacted in a remarkable way upon the people of ancient Egypt. It was the cause and motive of many of the things they did when they laid away their dead.[2]

[1] "There is no ground for the complicated conception of a person in ancient Egypt as consisting, besides the body, of a ka, a ba (soul), a y'hw (spirit), a shadow, etc. Besides the body and the ba (soul), there was only the ka, the protecting genius, which was not an element of the personality . . ." (Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (1912), p. 56, n. 2). And so Steindorff: "In my opinion it [the ka] is not, as commonly supposed, a kind of ethereal facsimile or double of the man, but a guardian spirit or genius" (*The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* (1905), p. 122).

[2] The ideas and beliefs which underlie such practices as are portrayed in the following sections are common to all primitive peoples. What is extraordinary in the case of the Egyptians is that they should have retained these customs so long after their emergence from barbarism. This is to be attributed to their extreme conservatism (cf. sect. 36).

38. The First Need of the Soul: the Old Body. The first need of the soul was the possession of the old body, upon the preservation of which the existence or happiness of the soul was believed to depend. Hence the anxious care with which the Egyptians sought to preserve the body against decay by embalming it.

In the various processes of embalming, use was made of oils, resins, bitumen, and various aromatic gums. The bodies of the wealthy were preserved by being filled with costly aromatic and resinous substances, and swathed in bandages of linen. To a body thus treated is applied the term *mummy*. As this method of embalming was very costly, the bodies of the poorer classes were simply dipped into hot asphalt, or salted and dried, and wrapped in coarse mats preparatory to burial in the desert sands, or in common tombs cared for by the priests.

FIG. 27. PROFILE OF RAMESES II
(From a photograph of the mummy)

To this practice of the Egyptians of embalming their dead we owe it that we can look upon the actual faces of many of the ancient Pharaohs. Towards the close of the last century (in 1881) the mummies of Thothmes III, Sethos I, Rameses II, and those of about forty other kings, queens, princes, and priests, embracing nearly all the Pharaohs of the Eighteenth, Nineteenth, Twentieth, and Twenty-first dynasties, were found in a secret rock chamber near Thebes. The faces of Sethos and Rameses, both strong faces, are so remarkably preserved that, in the words of Maspero, "were their subjects to return to the earth to-day they could not fail to recognize their old sovereigns."

Along with the mummy there were often placed in the tomb a number of wood, clay, or stone portrait statuettes of the deceased. The lid of the coffin was also carved in the form of a mummy. The idea here was that, if through any accident the body were destroyed,

the soul might avail itself of these substitutes. It was the effort put forth by the artist to make these portrait images and carvings lifelike that contributed to bring early Egyptian sculpture to such a high degree of excellence.

39. The Second Need of the Soul: a Secure Habitation. Another need of the soul was a safe habitation. Upon the temporary homes of the living the Egyptians bestowed little care, but upon the "eternal abodes" of the dead they lavished unstinted labor and cost.

The tombs of the official class and of the rich were sometimes structures of brick or stone, and again they were chambers cut in the limestone cliffs that rim the Nile valley.

FIG. 28. MUMMY CASE WITH MUMMY

The bodies of the earlier Pharaohs were, as we have seen, hidden away in the heart of great mountains of stone — the pyramids. Many of the later Pharaohs constructed for themselves magnificent rock-cut tombs, some of which are perfect labyrinths of corridors, halls, and chambers. In the hills back of Thebes, in the so-called Valley of the Tombs of the Kings, there are so many of these royal sepulchers that the place has been called the "Westminster Abbey of Egypt."

40. The Third Need of the Soul: Food and Things Used in the Earthly Life. But not all the wants of the soul were met by the mummy, the substitute portrait-images, and the secure tomb. It had need also of food and drink and implements — of everything, in a word, that the deceased had needed while on earth. Hence all these things were put into the tomb when the body was laid away, and thereafter, from time to time, fresh supplies of food were heaped upon a table placed to receive them. That there might be no failure of gifts, the tombs of the wealthy were often richly endowed, and the duty of renewing the supplies laid upon the priest of some neighboring temple. The very poor had scanty provision, often only a pair of worn-out shoes or pasteboard sandals.

But as it was only the spirit or double of the things thus set out which the soul could make use of, it came to be believed that a picture or an inexpensive model in wood or clay of these objects would serve just as well as the actual objects themselves. Thus the pictures of different kinds of food and drink supplied the soul with "an unsubstantial yet satisfying repast"; and the model of a boat made possible a pleasure sail on the celestial Nile. Among the objects sometimes put in the tomb were models of slave women without feet — presumably that they might not run away when wanted; and models of servants, called respondents or "answerers," since their duty was "to arise and answer in place of the dead man when he was called upon to do work in the underworld."

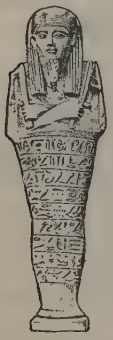


FIG. 29. SERVANT FOR THE UNDERWORLD.[1] (After *Wiedemann*)

It was this belief — that pictures and models would take the place of the real things — which covered the walls of the Egyptian tombs with those sculptures and paintings which have converted for us these chambers of the dead into picture galleries where the Egypt of the Pharaohs rises again into life before our eyes.

41. The Judgment of the Dead and the Negative Confession. But alongside these crude ideas and beliefs which made well-being and happiness in the hereafter dependent upon the preservation of the old body, a sumptuous tomb, a constant supply of food and other things, there developed a belief and conviction that the lot of the soul in the future is determined solely by the life, whether good or evil, lived on earth.

This belief found expression in the so-called Judgment of the Dead. King and peasant alike must appear before the dread tribunal of Osiris, the judge of the underworld, and render an account of the deeds done in the body. Here the soul sought justification in such declarations

[1] A statuette of a workman placed in the tomb along with the mummy. It was thought that the recital of certain magical formulas imparted life to the image. A number of these figures put in the tomb supplied the deceased with servants in the other world.

PLATE VI. A RESTORATION OF THE HALL OF COLUMNS AT KARNAK. (From Lübke, *History of Art*)

as these, which form what is called the Negative Confession: "I have not blasphemed"; "I have not stolen"; "I have not slain any one treacherously"; "I have not slandered any one or made false accusation"; "I have not reviled the face of my father"; "I have not eaten my heart through with envy."[1]

In other declarations of the soul we find a singularly close approach to Christian morality, as for instance in this: "I have given bread to the hungry and drink to him who was athirst; I have clothed the naked with garments."

The truth of what the soul thus asserted in its own behalf was tested by the balances of the gods. In one of the scales was placed

FIG. 30. THE JUDGMENT OF THE DEAD. (From a papyrus)
Showing the weighing of the heart of the deceased in the scales of truth

the heart of the deceased; in the other, a feather, the symbol of truth or righteousness. The soul stood by watching the weighing. If the heart were found not light, the soul was welcomed to the companionship of the good Osiris. The unjustified were sent to a place of torment or were thrown to a monster to be devoured.

This judgment scene in the nether world forms the most instructive memorial of Old Egypt that has been preserved to us. We here learn what sort of a conscience the Egyptian had early developed; for the confession and the doctrine of a judgment date from a very remote

[1] It will be noted that these are in substance the equivalent of six of the Ten Commandments of the Hebrews.

period of Egyptian civilization. The moral teachers of Egypt here anticipated the moral teachers of Israel.[1]

42. Architecture, Sculpture, and Minor Arts. At a comparatively early period Egyptian civilization ceased to make further notable progress. The past was taken as a model, just as it is in China to-day. So what is here said of the arts is, speaking broadly, as true of them in the third millennium before Christ as at any later period of Egyptian history.

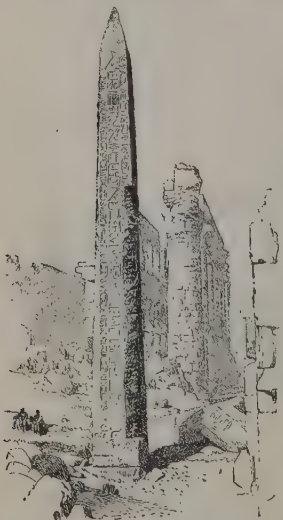


FIG. 31. AN EGYPTIAN OBELISK

In the building art the ancient Egyptians, in some respects, have never been surpassed. The Memphian pyramids built by the earlier, and the Theban temples raised by the later Pharaohs have excited the astonishment and the admiration alike of all the successive generations that have looked upon them. "Thebes," says Lenormant, "in spite of all the ravages of time and of the barbarian still presents the grandest, the most prodigious assemblage of buildings ever erected by the hand of man."

In the cutting and shaping of enormous blocks of the hardest stone, the Egyptians achieved results which modern stonecutters can scarcely equal. "It is doubtful," says Rawlinson, "whether the steam-sawing of the present day could be trusted to produce in ten years from the quarries of Aberdeen a single obelisk such as those which the Pharaohs set up by dozens."[2]

[1] ". . . In this judgment the Egyptian introduced for the first time in the history of man the fully developed idea that the future destiny of the dead must be dependent entirely upon the ethical quality of the earthly life, the idea of future accountability." — BREASTED, *History of Egypt* (1912), p. 173.

[2] *History of Ancient Egypt*, vol. i, p. 408. The Egyptian stonecutters did much of their work with copper and bronze tools, to which they were able by some process to

As we have seen (sect. 24), Egyptian sculpture was at its best in the earliest period; that it became so imitative and the figures so conventional and rigid was due to the influence of religion. The artist, in the portrayal of the figures of the gods, was not allowed to change a single line of the sacred form. Wilkinson says that Menes would have recognized the statue of Osiris in the temples of the last of the Pharaohs.

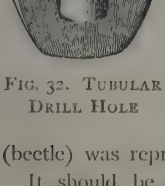


FIG. 32. TUBULAR DRILL HOLE

In many of the minor arts the Egyptians attained a surprisingly high degree of excellence. They were able in coloring glass to secure tints as brilliant and beautiful as any which modern art has been able to produce. In goldsmith's work they showed wonderful skill. The scarabæus (beetle) was reproduced with lines of almost microscopic delicacy.

It should be noted here that it was especially in the domain of art that the influence of Egypt was exerted upon contemporary civilizations. Until the full development of Greek art, Egyptian art reigned over the world in somewhat the same way that Greek art has reigned since the Golden Age of Greece. Its influence can be traced in the architecture, the sculpture, and the decorative art of all the peoples of the Mediterranean lands.

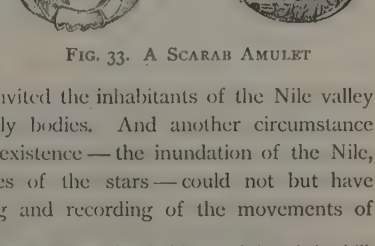


FIG. 33. A SCARAB AMULET

43. The Sciences: Astronomy, Geometry, and Medicine. The cloudless and brilliant skies of Egypt invited the inhabitants of the Nile valley to the study of the heavenly bodies. And another circumstance closely related to their very existence — the inundation of the Nile, following the changing cycles of the stars — could not but have incited them to the watching and recording of the movements of

give a very hard edge. In the very earliest times they had invented the tubular drill, which they set with hard cutting points. With this instrument they did work which engineers of to-day say could not be surpassed with the modern diamond drill. See Flinders Petrie, *Ten Years' Digging in Egypt*, pp. 26, 27.

the heavenly bodies. Their observations led them to discover the length, very nearly, of the solar year, which they divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with a festival period of five days at the end of the year.[1] This was the calendar that, with minor changes, Julius Cæsar introduced into the Roman Empire, and which, slightly reformed by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1582, has been the system employed by almost all the civilized world up to the present day.

The Greeks accounted for the early rise of the science of geometry among the Egyptians by the necessity they were under of reëstablishing each year the boundaries of their fields — the inundation obliterating old landmarks and divisions. The science thus forced upon their attention was cultivated with zeal and success. A single papyrus has been discovered that holds twelve geometrical theorems. The work of the Greek scholars in this field was based on that done by the Egyptians.

The Egyptian physicians relied largely on magic, for every ailment was supposed to be caused by a demon that must be expelled by means of magical rites and incantations. But they also used drugs of various kinds; the ciphers or characters employed by modern apothecaries to designate grains and drams are believed to be of Egyptian invention.

44. Egypt's Contribution to Civilization. Egypt, we thus see, made valuable gifts to civilization. From the Nile came the germs of much found in the later cultures of the peoples of western Asia and of the Greeks and Romans, and through their mediation in that of the modern world. "We are the heirs of the civilized past," says Sayce, "and a goodly portion of that civilized past was the creation of ancient Egypt."

How varied and helpful Egypt's contributions were to the growing cultures of the Mediterranean area will appear as we proceed in following chapters to rehearse briefly the story of the other historic peoples of antiquity.

[1] The Egyptian scholars knew that 365 days was a period ¼ of a day short of a year, but the conservatism of the people prevented the use of a calendar that provided for the addition of one day to every fourth year.

Selections from the Sources. *Records of the Past* (New Series, edited by Sayce), vol. iii, "The Precepts of Ptah-Hotep." Petrie's *Egyptian Tales* (Second Series), "Anpu and Bata." Maspero's *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, "The Lamentations of the Fellah," pp. 43–67; and "The Shipwrecked Sailor," pp. 98–107. HERODOTUS, ii, 1–14. The student should bear in mind that the parts of Herodotus' work devoted to the Orient have a very different historical value from that possessed by those portions of the history which deal primarily with Greek affairs. "The net result of Oriental research," says Professor Sayce, "in its bearing upon Herodotus is to show that the greater part of what he professes to tell us of the history of Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia is really a collection of 'märchen,' or popular stories, current among the Greek loungers and half-caste dragomen on the skirts of the Persian empire. . . . After all, . . . it may be questioned whether they are not of higher value for the history of the human mind than the most accurate descriptions of kings and generals, of wars and treaties and revolutions."

References (Modern). BREASTED, *A History of Egypt*, *A History of the Ancient Egyptians*, and *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*. MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization*, chaps. i–vi; *The Struggle of the Nations*, chaps. i–v; and *Manual of Egyptian Archæology*. RAWLINSON, *History of Ancient Egypt*, 2 vols., and *Story of Ancient Egypt*. NEWBERRY and GARSTANG, *A Short History of Ancient Egypt*. BAIKIE, *The Story of the Pharaohs*. HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East* (consult table of contents). WIEDEMANN, *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*. WILKINSON, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (should be used with caution — portions are antiquated). ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*. BUDGE, *Egyptian Religion* and *Egyptian Ideas of the Future Life*. STEINDORFF, *The Religion of the Ancient Egyptians*. PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *History of Art in Ancient Egypt*.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Characteristics of Egyptian art: Reinach, *Apollo*, pp. 17–22. 2. Industrial arts: Maspero, *Egyptian Archæology*, chap. v. 3. Dwellings of the poor and of the rich: Maspero, *Egyptian Archæology*, pp. 2–28. 4. The market and the shops: Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chap. ii. 5. The Tell el-Amarna letters: Breasted, *History of Egypt*, pp. 332–337, 382–389, 393; *Light from the East*, pp. 86–94.

CHAPTER IV

THE EARLY CITY-KINGDOMS OF BABYLONIA AND THE OLD BABYLONIAN EMPIRE

(From earliest times to 728 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

45. The Tigris and Euphrates Valley; the Upper and the Lower Country. We must now trace the upspringing of civilization in Babylonia, "the Asian Egypt."

As in the case of Egypt, so in that of the Tigris and Euphrates valley,[1] the physical features of the country exerted a great influence upon the history of its ancient peoples. Differences in geological structure divide this region into an upper and a lower district; and this twofold division in natural features is reflected, as we shall see, throughout its political history.

The northern part of the valley, the portion that comprised ancient Assyria, consists of undulating plains, broken in places by mountain

1 The ancient Greeks gave to the land embraced by the Tigris and the Euphrates the name of *Mesopotamia*, which means literally "the land between or amidst the rivers." The name is often loosely applied to the whole Tigris-Euphrates valley.

NOTE. The picture at the head of this page shows the Babil Mound, at Babylon, as it appeared in 1811.

ridges. This region nourished a hardy and warlike race, and became the seat of a great military empire.

The southern part of the valley, the part known as Babylonia, is, like the Delta region of Egypt, an alluvial deposit. The making of new land by the rivers has gone on steadily during historic times. The ruins of one of the ancient seaports of the country (Eridu) lie over a hundred miles inland from the present head of the Persian Gulf. In ancient times much of the land was protected against the

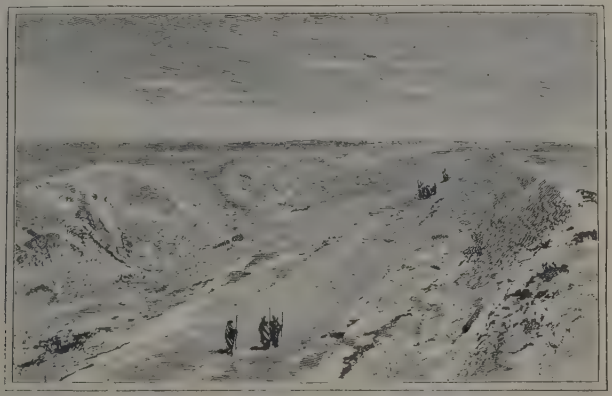


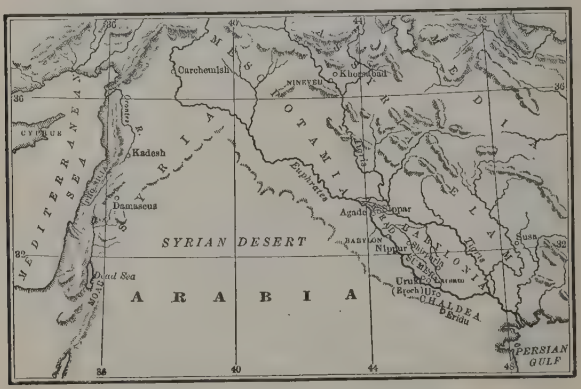
FIG. 34. ANCIENT BABYLONIAN CANAL

inundations of the rivers, and watered in seasons of drought, by a stupendous system of dikes and canals, which at the present day, in a ruined and sand-choked condition, cover like a network the face of the country.

The productions of Babylonia are very like those of the Nile valley. The luxuriant growth of grain upon these alluvial flats excited the wonder of the Greek travelers who visited the East. Herodotus will not tell the whole truth for fear his veracity may be doubted. It is not strange that tradition should have located here Paradise, that primeval garden "out of the ground of which God made to grow every tree that is pleasant to the sight and good for food." This

favored plain in a remote period of antiquity became the seat of an agricultural, industrial, and commercial population among which the arts of civilized life found a development which possibly was as old as that of Egypt, and which ran parallel with it.

46. The Babylonian a Mixed Culture. In ancient times the part of Babylonia in the south near the gulf was called Sumer and the part in the north Akkad. The first inhabitants of Sumer, known from the name of the land as Sumerians, were of non-Semitic race. They



MAP OF THE TIGRIS-EUPHRATES VALLEY

had already, when they appear in history, emerged from the Stone Age and were using utensils of copper. They possessed a system of writing and other arts of a comparatively advanced culture. It was this people who laid in the main the basis of civilization in the Euphrates valley.

About the same time that the Sumerians were establishing themselves in the south, there came into Akkad in the north — such appears to have been the course of events — Semitic immigrants from Arabia. These peoples were nomadic in habits, and altogether much less cultured than the Sumerians. Gradually gaining ascendancy, they took over the Sumerian culture and developed it. They retained,

however, their own language, which in the course of time superseded the Sumerian speech. The union of the two races gave rise to the Babylonians of history, and their mixed culture formed what is known as the Babylonian civilization.

47. The Age of City-Kingdoms (fourth and third millenniums B.C.). When the light of history first falls upon the Mesopotamian lands, in the later centuries of the fourth millennium B.C., it reveals the lower river plain filled with independent walled cities like those which we find later in Palestine, Greece, and Italy. Each city had its patron god, and was ruled by a prince bearing the title of *king* or *lord*.

FIG. 35. IMPRESSION OF A SEAL OF SARGON I (Date about 2800 B.C.)

"Must be ranked among the masterpieces of Oriental engraving." — Maspero

From the tablets of the old Babylonian temple archives (sect. 53), patient scholars are slowly deciphering the wonderful story of these ancient cities. The political side of their history may, for our present purpose, be summarized by saying that for a period of two thousand years and more their records, so far as they have become known to us, are annals of wars waged for supremacy by one city and its gods against other cities and their gods.

Of all the kings whose names have been recovered from the monuments we shall here mention only one — Sargon I (about 2775 B.C.[1]), the "Menes of Chaldea," a Semitic king of Akkad, whose reign forms a great landmark in early Babylonian annals. He built up a powerful state in Babylonia and carried his arms to "the land of the setting sun" (Syria). It is possible that he even extended his authority to the island of Cyprus. An eminent historian of the East calls his kingdom "the first world-kingdom known to history."

[1] The earlier date for this king, which was formerly accepted on the evidence of the so-called Nabonidus Cylinder, has been discredited by recent discoveries, which show that several of the early dynasties once supposed to be consecutive were really contemporaneous.

48. The Rise of Babylon: Hammurabi and the Old Babylonian Empire. From the remotest times the city-states of Babylonia had for enemies the kings of Elam, a country bordering Babylonia on the east, and of which Susa was the capital. For centuries at a time the Elamite kings held the cities of the plain in a state of more or less complete vassalage. Their dominion was finally broken by a king of Babylon, a city which had been gradually rising into prominence, and which was to give to the whole country the name by which it is best known — Babylonia. The name of this king was Hammurabi (about 2100 B.C.). He united under his rule all the cities of Babylonia, and thus became the true maker of what is known as the Old Babylonian Empire.

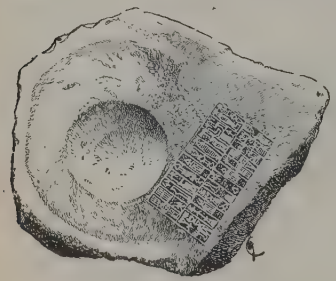


FIG. 36. DOOR SOCKET OF SARGON I

Hammurabi has been called the Babylonian Moses, for the reason that he promulgated a code of laws which in some respects is remarkably like the Mosaic code of the Hebrews. Concerning this oldest system of laws in the world we shall say something a little farther on (sect. 60).

49. The Old Babylonian Empire Eclipsed by the Rising Assyrian Empire. For more than fifteen hundred years after Hammurabi, Babylon continued to be the political and commercial center of an empire of varying fortunes, of changing dynasties, and of shifting frontiers. This long history, still only very imperfectly known to us, we pass without notice.

Meanwhile a Semitic power had been slowly developing in the north. This was the Assyrian Empire, thus called from Assur (Ashur), its early royal city. Later, the city of Nineveh grew to be its populous center and capital. The earlier rulers of Assyria were vassals of the kings of Babylonia; but late in the eighth century B.C. Babylonia was conquered by an Assyrian king, and from that time on to 625 B.C. the country was for the most part under Assyrian control.

II. ARTS AND GENERAL CULTURE

50. Remains of the Babylonian Cities and Public Buildings. The Babylonian plains are dotted with enormous mounds, generally inclosed by vast ramparts of earth. These heaps are the remains of the great walled cities, the palaces and shrines of the ancient Babylonians. The peculiar nature of these ruins arises from the character of the ancient Babylonian edifices and the kind of material used in their construction.

In the first place, in order to secure for their temples and palaces a firm foundation on the water-soaked land, as well as to lend to them a certain dignity and to render them more easily defended, the Babylonian kings raised their public buildings on enormous platforms of earth or adobe. These substructures were often many acres in extent and were raised generally to a height of forty or more feet above the level of the plain.

Upon these immense platforms were built the temples of the gods and the palaces of the king. The country affording neither timber nor stone, recourse was usually had to sun-dried bricks as the chief building material, burnt brick being used, in the main, only for the outer casing of the walls. The buildings were one-storied, with thick and heavy walls. Often the lower portion of the walls of the chief courts and chambers were paneled with glazed bricks.

In their decay these edifices have sunk down into great heaps of earth which the storms of centuries have furrowed with deep ravines, giving many of them the appearance of natural ruin-crowned hills — for which, in truth, some of the earlier visitors to Babylonia mistook them.

51. Excavations and Discoveries. About the middle of the nineteenth century some mounds of the upper country, near and on the site of ancient Nineveh, were excavated, and the world was astonished to see rising as from the tomb the palaces of the great Assyrian kings (sect. 68). This was the beginning of excavations and discoveries in the Mesopotamian lands which during the past half century have restored the history of long-forgotten empires, reconstructed the history of the Orient, and given us a new beginning for universal history.

Some of the most important finds in Babylonia were made during the closing years of the nineteenth century by the expedition of the University of Pennsylvania, on the site of the ancient Nippur. The excavation here of the ruins of the great temple of Bel brought to light memorials which prove that this city was one of the religious centers of the old Babylonian world for more than three thousand

FIG. 37. EXCAVATION SHOWING PAVEMENTS IN A COURT OF THE TEMPLE OF BEL AT NIPPUR. (After *Hilprecht*)

The lower pavement, marked "1," was put down by Sargon I and Naram-Sin (about 2800 B.C.), and the upper one, marked "5," by the Assyrian king Ashur-bani-pal (668–626? B.C.). The pavements are thus separated by a period of over 2000 years

years — a period a thousand years longer than that during which Rome has been the religious center of Catholic Christendom.

52. Cuneiform Writing. The most valuable things that have been unearthed in Babylonia are the old libraries and temple archives. But to appreciate the import of this a word is here necessary concerning the Babylonian system of writing and its decipherment.

From the earliest period known to us, the Babylonians were in possession of a system of phonetic writing. To this system the

term *cuneiform* (from *cuneus*, a "wedge") has been given on account of its wedge-shaped characters. The signs assumed this peculiar

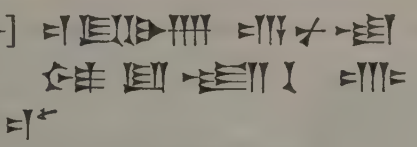


FIG. 38. CUNEIFORM WRITING

Translation: "Five thousand mighty cedars I spread for its roof"

form from being impressed upon soft clay tablets with an angular writing instrument (stylus).

This system of writing had been developed out of an earlier system of picture writing, as is plainly shown by a comparison of

	MEANING	OUTLINE CHARACTER, B. C. 3500	ARCHAIC CUNEIFORM, B. C. 2500	ASSYRIAN, B. C. 700	LATE BABYLONIAN, B. C. 500
1.	The sun				
2.	God, heaven				
3.	Mountain				
4.	Man				
5.	Ox				
6.	Fish				

FIG. 39. TABLE SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CUNEIFORM WRITING (After *King*)

the earlier with the later forms of the characters (Fig. 39). The Babylonians never developed the system beyond the syllabic stage

(sect. 11). They employed a syllabary of between four and five hundred signs.[1]

This mode of writing was in use among the peoples of western Asia from before 3000 B.C. down to the first century of our era. Thus for three thousand years it was just such an important factor in the earlier civilizations of the ancient world as the Phœnician alphabet in its various forms has been during the last three thousand years in the civilizations of all the peoples of culture, save those of eastern Asia.

FIG. 40. BABYLONIAN TABLET

53. Books and Archives. The writing material of the Babylonians was usually clay tablets of various sizes. Those holding contracts of special importance, after having been once written upon and baked, were covered with a thin coating of clay, and then the matter was written in duplicate and the tablets again baked. If the outer writing were defaced by accident or altered by design, the removal of the outer coating would at once show the true text.

The tablets were carefully preserved in great public archives, which sometimes formed an adjunct of the temple of some specially revered deity. The temple archives found at Telloh contained over thirty thousand tablets.

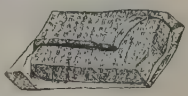


FIG. 41. CONTRACT TABLET

The outer case has been broken to show the inner version

54. The Decipherment of the Cuneiform Writing; the Contents of the Tablets. Just as the key to the Egyptian writing was found by means of bilingual inscriptions, so was the key to the cuneiform script discovered by means of trilingual inscriptions, among which was a very celebrated one cut by a Persian king on the so-called Behistun Rock (sect. 104). Credit for the decipherment of the

[1] The Persians at a much later time borrowed the system and developed it into a purely alphabetic one. Their alphabet consisted of thirty-six characters.

difficult writing, and thereby the opening up to us of the records of a long buried civilization, is divided among several scholars.[1]

The tablets cover the greatest variety of subjects. There are mythological tablets, which hold the myths and tales of the Babylonian gods; religious tablets, filled with prayers and hymns; legal tablets, containing laws, contracts, wills, and various other matters of a commercial nature; and astronomical, historical, and mathematical tablets — all revealing a very highly developed society. We will say just a word of what the tablets reveal respecting the religion and mythology of the Babylonians, and of the state of the sciences among them.

55. The Religion. The tablets hold a large religious literature, which forms one of the earliest and most instructive chapters in the religious history of mankind. At the earliest period made known to us by the native records, we find the pantheon, like the Egyptian, to embrace many powerful nature gods and local deities — the patron gods of the different cities. Besides the great gods there was a vast multitude of lesser gods.

The most prominent feature from first to last of the popular religion was a belief in spirits, particularly in wicked spirits, and the practice of magic rites and incantations to avert the malign influence of these demons.

A second most important feature of the religion was what is known as astrology, or the foretelling of events by the aspects of the stars. This side of the religious system was, in the later Chaldean period, most elaborately and ingeniously developed until the fame of the Chaldean astrologers was spread throughout the ancient world.

Alongside these low beliefs and superstitious practices there existed, however, higher and purer elements. This is best illustrated by the

[1] Copies of trilingual inscriptions — written in Persian, Susian, and Babylonian — were brought from Persepolis to Europe at the end of the eighteenth century. The clue to the decipherment of the Persian text was found by Grotefend in 1802. He identified the names of Darius, Hystaspes, and Xerxes, the word for *king*, and nine of the thirty-nine signs. In 1835 Sir Henry C. Rawlinson copied a longer inscription in these same languages made by Darius on the rock at Behistun. Independently he arrived at the same conclusions as Grotefend.

so-called penitential psalms, dating, some of them, from the second millennium B.C., which breathe a spirit like that which pervades the penitential psalms of the Old Testament.[1]

The most instructive fact for us to note respecting this old Babylonian religion is the influence which it had upon the culture of later ages. For the most part this influence was of a baneful character, for it was chiefly the lower elements of the system — magic, sorcery, and astrology — which were absorbed by the borrowing nations of the West. Thus astrology among the later Romans and the popular beliefs of the Middle Ages in regard to evil spirits, exorcisms, charms, witches, and the devil were in large part an inheritance from old Babylonia. Much of this wretched heritage was transmitted from the East to the Western world at the same time that Christianity came in from Judea.

56. Ideas of the Future Life. The beliefs of the Babylonians respecting the other world were in strange contrast to those of the Egyptians. In truth, they gave but little thought to the after life; and it is no wonder that they did not like to keep the subject in mind, for in general they imagined the life after death to be most sad and doleful. The abode of the dead (Aralu), the "dark land," the "land of no return," was a dusky region beneath the earth. Bats flitted about in the dim light; dust was upon the lintels of the barred doors; the souls drowsed in their places; their food was dust and mud.

There was no judgment of the dead as among the Egyptians. There was no distinction, in the case of the great multitude,[2] between the good and the bad; the same lot awaited all who went down to death.

[1] A few lines of such a psalm follow:

O my god who art angry with me, accept my prayer.

. . . . . .

May my sins be forgiven, my transgressions be wiped out.

. . . . . .

[May] flowing waters of the stream wash me clean.
Let me be pure like the sheen of gold.

[Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 343

[2] There was a sort of Elysium, like that of the Greeks, for men of great deeds and great piety.

57. The Place of the Temple in the Life of the People. Religion among the Babylonians, as among all the peoples of antiquity, was largely an affair of the state. A chief care and duty of the king was the erection and repair of the temples and shrines of the gods.[1]

The temples were much more than abodes of the gods and places of worship. Besides the chambers for the priest, storerooms for the products of the temple lands, and stables for the animals for the sacrifices, there were attached to many of the temples schools, which were in charge of the priests and scribes. The courts of the temples were also places for the transaction of all manner of business. All kinds of contracts were drawn up by the temple scribes and copies of the same deposited for safe-keeping in the temple archives. An immense number of these contract tablets have been found, so that we now have probably a better knowledge of the commercial affairs of the old Babylonians than of those of any other people of antiquity.

FIG. 42. DIORITE SEATED STATUE OF GUDEA, RULER OF LAGASH (SHIRPURLA). (Museum of the Louvre)

Gudea reigned about 2450 B.C. He was a great builder, and his inscriptions dwell chiefly upon his pious labors in the restoration and beautifying of the old city-temples

Many of the temples, like the churches and monasteries of mediæval Europe, were richly endowed with lands and other property. Indeed, the gods were the largest landowners in the state. The god Bel at Nippur seems to have owned a great part of the city and its lands.

[1] A peculiar architectural feature of the later temple was an immense *ziggurat*, or tower, which ordinarily consisted of a number of stages or platforms raised one upon another in the form of a great step pyramid.

58. The Epic of Creation or the Babylonian Genesis. A great part of Babylonian literature was of Sumerian origin and dates from the third millennium B.C. In what is called the Creation Epic, which has been recovered in a fragmentary state from the cuneiform tablets, we have the Babylonian version of the creation of the heavens and the earth by the great god Marduk.

This story of the creation is told with many variations in the literature of the Babylonians and Assyrians. These tales present certain resemblances to the account of the creation given in the Sacred Scriptures of the Hebrews. But there are striking differences which it is instructive to notice. The Bible account, in contrast with the Babylonian tales, is divested of all polytheistic elements, and is moralized, that is, so told as to cause it to become a means of moral instruction.

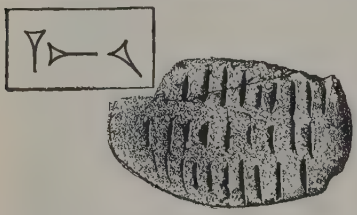


FIG. 43. WRITING-EXERCISE TABLETS OF A CHILD. (Found at Nippur; after *Hilprecht*)

59. The Epic of Gilgamesh. Besides the Creation Epic the Babylonians had a large number of other heroic and nature myths. The most noted of these form what is known as the Epic of Gilgamesh,[1] the Babylonian Heracles. This is doubtless the oldest epic of the race. It held some such place in Babylonian literature and art as the cycle of legends making up the epic of the Trojan War held in the literature and art of the Greeks. Echoes of it reached the Ægean lands and helped to mold the Greek story of Heracles (sect. 138).

60. Legislation: the Code of Hammurabi. In 1901–1902 the French excavators at Susa, in the ancient Elam, discovered a block of stone upon which was inscribed the code of laws set up by

[1] The epic is made up of a great variety of material. One of the stories of greatest interest is that of the Deluge, of which there are several versions in Babylonian literature. The oldest of these was discovered recently (in 1913) by Dr. Arno Poebel among the Nippur tablets in the Museum of Archæology of the University of Pennsylvania. The tablet holding this version is believed to date from 1850 or 1900 B.C. See Jastrow, *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions* (1914), p. 335.

Hammurabi, king of Babylon, just at the close of the third millennium B.C. (sect. 48). This is the oldest system of laws known to us. It is evidently, in large part at least, merely a collection of earlier laws and ancient customs.

The code casts a strong side light upon the Babylonian life of the period when it was compiled, and thus constitutes one of the most valuable monuments spared to us from the old Semitic world. It defined the rights and duties of husband and wife, master and slave, of merchants, gardeners, tenants, shepherds — of all the classes which made up the population of the Babylonian Empire. As in the case of the later Hebrew code, the principle of retaliation determined the penalty for injury done another; it was an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, and a limb for a limb.

FIG. 44. HAMMURABI RECEIVING THE CODE FROM THE SUN-GOD

"Hammurabi places as the headpiece of the monument containing the laws of the country an effigy of himself in an attitude of adoration before Shamash, 'The Judge,' as the ultimate source of the laws." — Jastrow

The owner of a vicious ox which had pushed or gored a man was required to pay a heavy fine, provided he knew the disposition of the creature and had not blunted its horns (see Exod. xxi, 28–32).

The law fixed prices and wages, the hire for boats and wagons and of oxen for threshing, the fee of the surgeon, the wages of the brickmaker, of the tailor, of the carpenter, and of other artisans.

There were also provisions forbidding under severe penalties the harboring of runaway slaves — provisions which read strangely like our own fugitive-slave laws of a half century and more ago.

For more than two thousand years after its compilation this code of laws was in force in the Assyrian and Babylonian empires, and

even after this lapse of time it was used as a textbook in the schools of the Mesopotamian lands. Probably no other code save the Mosaic or the Roman Civil Code has exerted a greater influence upon human society. "As the oldest body of laws in existence," says an eminent Assyrian scholar, "it marks a great epoch in the world's history, and must henceforth form the starting point for the systematic study of historic jurisprudence."

61. Sciences: Astronomy, the Calendar, and Mathematics. In astronomy the Babylonians made greater advance than the Egyptians. Their knowledge of the heavens came about from their interest as astrologers in the stars. They divided the zodiac into twelve signs and named the zodiacal constellations, a memorial of their astronomical attainments which will remain forever inscribed upon the great circle of the heavens; they foretold eclipses of the sun and moon; they invented the sundial; they divided the year into twelve months, the day and night into hours, and the hours into minutes, and devised a week of seven days.[1]

In the mathematical sciences, also, the Babylonians made considerable advance. A tablet has been found which contains the squares and cubes of the numbers from one to sixty. The duodecimal system in numbers was the invention of the Babylonians, and it is from them that the system has come to us.

The Babylonians invented measures of length, weight, and capacity. It was from them that all the peoples of antiquity derived their systems of weight and measure. Aside from letters, these are perhaps the most indispensable agents in the life of a people after they have risen above the lowest levels of barbarism.

Selections from the Sources. Jastrow's *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 453–461. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature* (selected translations), pp. 408–413, "Ishtar's Descent to Hades" (this is one of the choicest pieces of Babylonian literature). Sayce's *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*, pp. 313–319, "The Babylonian Account of the Deluge" (this can be found also in Smith's *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, chap. xvi, and in Jastrow's *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 443–452). *The*

[1] This week of seven days was a subdivision of the moon-month, based on the phases of the moon, namely, new moon, first quarter, full moon, and last quarter.

Code of Hammurabi, in either the Johns or the Harper translation ("The Code of Hammurabi is one of the most important monuments of the human race." — JOHNS).

References (Modern). MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization*, chaps. vii–ix, and *The Struggle of the Nations*, chap. i. KING, *History of Akkad and Sumer* and *A History of Babylon*. ROGERS, *History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. i. HOMMEL, *The Civilization of the East*. GOODSPEED, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pts. i, ii. PETERS, *Nippur*, 2 vols. JASTROW, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* and *Hebrew and Babylonian Traditions*. KING, *Babylonian Religion and Mythology*. SAYCE, *Social Life among the Assyrians and Babylonians*. PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *A History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, 2 vols. HALL, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, chap. v.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. French excavations at Tello: Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 216–260. 2. American excavations at Nippur: Peters, *Nippur*, vol. ii, chaps. ii–x; Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 289–568. 3. The temple archives: Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 316–318. 4. Moral maxims and penitential psalms: Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 464–465, 469–474.

CHAPTER V

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE

(From an unknown date to 606 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

62. Introduction. In the preceding chapter we traced the beginnings of civilization among the early settlers of the lowlands of the Euphrates. Meanwhile, as has already been noticed, farther to the north, upon the banks of the Tigris, were growing into strength and prominence a rival Semitic people — the Assyrians. Of the place in world history of the empire represented by this people we must now try to form some sort of idea.

The story of Assyria is in the main a story of the Assyrian kings. And it is a story of ruthless war, which made the Assyrian kings the scourge of antiquity. To relate this story with any measure of detail would involve endless repetition of the royal records of pillaging raids and punitive campaigns in all the countries of western Asia. We shall therefore speak of only two or three of the great kings of the later empire whose energy as conquerors or ability as organizers, or whose munificence as builders and patrons of arts and letters, has caused their names to live among the renowned personages of the ancient world.

63. Tiglath-Pileser IV[1] **(745–727 B.C.).** One of the greatest of the later kings was Tiglath-Pileser IV. He was a man of great energy and of undoubted military talent. The empire which had been built up by earlier kings having fallen into disorder, he restored the Assyrian power and extended the limits of the empire even beyond its former boundaries.

But what renders the reign of this king a landmark not only in Assyrian, but, we may almost say, in universal history, is the fact that he was not a mere conqueror like his predecessors, but a political organizer of great capacity.

Hitherto the empires that had arisen in western Asia consisted simply of tributary or vassal cities and states, each of which, having its own king, was ready at the first favorable moment to revolt against its suzerain, who, like a mediæval feudal king, was simply a great overlord, a "king of kings."

Now Tiglath-Pileser, though not the first to introduce, was the first to put into practice in a large way, the plan of reducing conquered states to provinces; that is, instead of allowing conquered princes to rule as his vassals, he put in their places Assyrian magistrates, or viceroys, upon whose loyalty he could depend.

This system gave a more compact and permanent character to his conquests. It is true he was not able to carry out his system perfectly; but in realizing the plan to the extent that he did, he laid the basis of the power and glory of the great kings who followed him upon the Assyrian throne, and made the later Assyrian Empire, to a certain degree, the prototype of the succeeding world empires of Darius, Alexander, and Cæsar.

64. Sargon II (722–705 B.C.). Sargon II was a great conqueror and builder. In 722 B.C. he captured Samaria, the siege of which had been commenced by his predecessor, and carried away the most influential classes of the "Ten Tribes" of Israel into captivity[2] (sect. 84). The greater portion of the captives were scattered among the towns

[1] Formerly Tiglath-Pileser III. Since the first revised edition of this work evidence has come to light which proves this Tiglath Pileser to have been the fourth instead of, as hitherto supposed, the third to bear this name.

[2] 2 Kings xvii, 6.

of Media and Mesopotamia, and probably became, for the most part, merged with the population of those regions.

This transplanting of a conquered people was a regular governmental device of the Assyrian kings. It was done not only in order that conspiracy and revolt should be rendered virtually impossible, but also in order that, with the old ties of country and home thus severed, the rising generation might the more easily forget past wrongs and old traditions and customs, and become blended with the peoples about them.

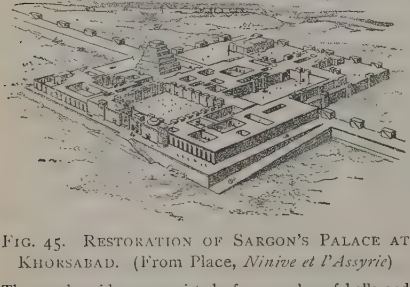


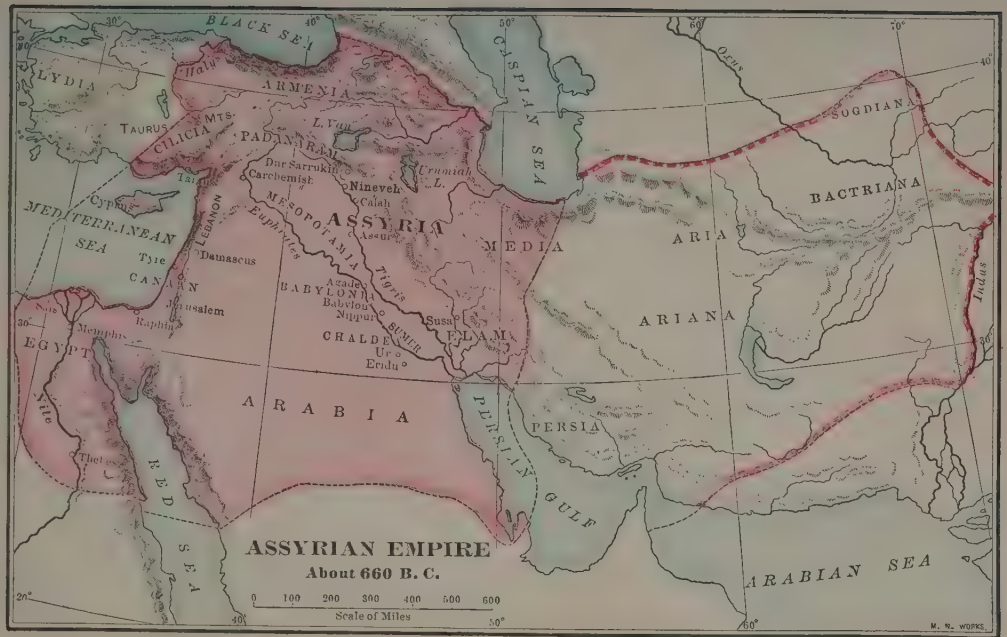
FIG. 45. RESTORATION OF SARGON'S PALACE AT KHORSABAD. (From Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*)

The royal residence consisted of a complex of halls and chambers surrounding a number of courts, large and small. The stepped pyramid is a *ziggurat*, or temple-tower

Sargon was a famous builder. Near the foot of the hills rimming the Tigris valley on the northeast he founded a large city, which he named for himself; and there he erected a royal residence, described in the inscriptions as "a palace of incomparable magnificence," the site of which is now marked by the mounds of Khorsabad (sect. 68).

65. Sennacherib (705–681 B.C.). Sargon was followed by his son Sennacherib, whose name, connected as it is with the history of Jerusalem and with many of the most wonderful discoveries among the ruined palaces of Nineveh, has become as familiar as that of Nebuchadnezzar in the story of Babylon.

The fullness of the royal inscriptions of this reign enables us to permit Sennacherib to tell us in his own words of his great works and military expeditions. Respecting the decoration of Nineveh, of which he was the chief builder, he writes: "I raised again all the edifices of Nineveh, my royal city; I reconstructed all its old streets, and widened those that were too narrow. I made the whole town a city shining like the sun."


ASSYRIAN EMPIRE
About 660 B. C.
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles
BLACK SEA
CASPIAN SEA
LYDIA
ARMENIA
Halys
TAURUS MTS.
CILICIA
PADANARAM
L. Van
Dur Sarrukin
Carchemish
Nineveh
Calah
Urumiah L.
Tarsus
Cyprus
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
LEBANON
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
ASSYRIA
Assur
Tigris
MEDIA
Tyre
Damascus
CANAAN
Jerusalem
Raphia
Agade
BABYLONIA
Babylon
Nippur
SUMER
Susa
ELAM
CHALDEA
Ur
Eridu
Memphis
EGYPT
Nile
Thebes
ARABIA
RED SEA
PERSIAN GULF
PERSIA
ARIA
ARIANA
BACTRIANA
SOGDIANA
Oxus
Indus
ARABIAN SEA
M. N. WORKS.

Concerning an expedition against Hezekiah, king of Judah, he says: "I took forty-six of his strong fenced cities; and of the smaller towns which were scattered about I took and plundered a countless number. And from these places I captured and carried off as spoil 200,150 people, old and young, male and female, together with horses and mares, asses and camels, oxen and sheep, a countless multitude. And Hezekiah himself I shut up in Jerusalem, his capital city, like a bird in a cage, building towers round the city to

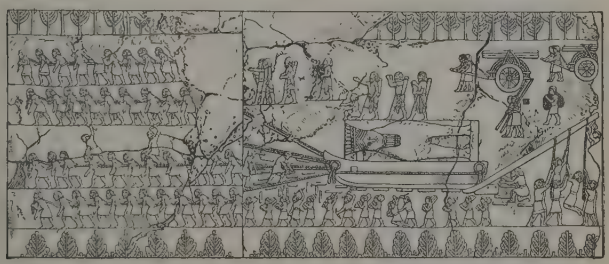


FIG. 46. TRANSPORT OF A WINGED BULL. (From Layard's *Monuments of Nineveh*)

While hundreds pull on the ropes, others place rollers beneath the sled, and still others aid with a great lever behind

hem him in, and raising banks of earth against the gates, so as to prevent escape."[1]

In this recital Sennacherib conceals the fact that his siege of the strong city of Jerusalem remained fruitless; according to the Hebrew account[2] the Assyrian host was smitten by "the angel of the Lord,"[3] and the king returned with a shattered army and without glory to his capital Nineveh.

Sennacherib laid a heavy hand upon Babylon, which at this time was the leading city of the lower country. That city having revolted,

[1] From the so-called Taylor Cylinder; translation by Sir H. Rawlinson (Rawlinson, *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii, p. 161). A translation by Professor Rogers can be found in *Records of the Past* (New Series), vol. vi, p. 90.

[2] 2 Kings xix, 35–37.

[3] This expression is a Hebraism, meaning often any physical cause of destruction, as a plague or a storm. In the present case the destroying agency was probably a pestilence.

Sennacherib captured the place, and, as his inscription declares, destroyed it "root and branch," casting the rubbish into the "River of Babylon."[1]

66. Ashur-bani-pal (668–626 B.C.). This king, the Sardanapalus of the Greeks, is distinguished for his magnificent patronage of art and letters (sect. 70). His reign was also marked by important military operations. Egypt having revolted,[2] he brought it again into subjection to Assyria. Elam, in punishment for its hostility, was made an awful example of his vengeance; its cities were leveled, and the whole country was laid waste. All the scenes of his sieges and battles he caused to be sculptured on the walls of his palace at Nineveh. These pictured panels are now in the British Museum. They are a perfect Iliad in stone.

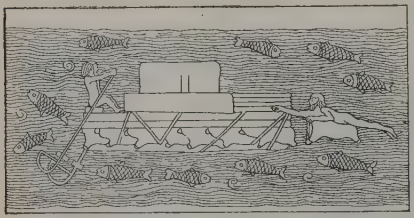


FIG. 47. AN ASSYRIAN KELEK. (After *Layard*)

A kind of raft (depicted on the Assyrian monuments) used by the ancient Assyrians for floating grain, stone, etc., down the Mesopotamian rivers. It consisted of a framework of poles supported by a great number of inflated goat-skins. On arrival at its destination the raft was taken to pieces, the wood sold, and the skins carried back on asses. Exactly the same system of transportation is employed on the Tigris to-day. The swimmer in the picture is astride an inflated skin

67. The Fall of Nineveh (606 B.C.). A ruler named by the Greek writers Saracus was the last of the long line of Assyrian kings. For nearly or quite six centuries the Ninevite kings had now lorded it over the East. There was scarcely a state in all western Asia that during this time had not, in the language of the royal inscriptions, "borne the heavy yoke of their lordship"; scarcely a people that had not suffered their cruel punishments or tasted the bitterness of enforced exile.

But now swift misfortunes were bearing down from every quarter upon the oppressor. First, wild Scythians from the north ravaged

[1] The city was rebuilt by Sennacherib's son and successor Esarhaddon I (680–668 B.C.).

[2] Egypt had been conquered and brought under Assyrian rule by Sennacherib's son Esarhaddon. Northern Arabia had also been added to the empire by him.

the Assyrian lands far and wide. After this weakening of the state, Egypt revolted and tore Syria away from the empire. In the southern lowlands the Babylonians also rose in revolt, while from the mountain defiles on the east issued the armies of the recent-grown empire of the Aryan Medes, led by the renowned Cyaxares, and laid close siege to Nineveh.

The city was finally taken and sacked, and dominion passed away forever from the proud capital (606 B.C.). Two hundred years later, when Xenophon with his Ten Thousand Greeks, in his memorable retreat (sect. 265), passed the spot, the once great city was a crumbling mass of ruins and its name had been forgotten.

FIG. 48. AN ASSYRIAN KING AND HIS CAPTIVES

The captives are held by hook and bridle in nose and lips. The sculpture thus depicting this cruel practice of the Assyrian kings is a vivid illustration of these words of the prophet Isaiah: "Therefore will I put my hook in thy nose, and my bridle in thy lips." — Isa. xxxvii, 29

II. THE CIVILIZATION

68. Assyrian Excavations and Discoveries. In Assyria there are many mounds like those in Babylonia. These mark the sites of the old Assyrian cities; for though stone in this upper country is abundant, the Assyrians, under the influence of Babylonia, used mainly sun-dried bricks in the construction of their buildings.[1] Hence in their decay the Assyrian edifices have left just such earth-mounds as those which form the tombs of the old Babylonian cities and temples.

[1] Stone, when employed, was used mainly for decorative purposes and for the foundation of walls. Because of the freer use of stone by the Assyrian architect and sculptor (sect. 69), the Assyrian ruins have yielded far more monuments than the Babylonian.

In 1843–1844 M. Botta, the French consul at Mosul on the Tigris, excavated the mound at Khorsabad, and astonished the world with most wonderful specimens of Assyrian art from the palace of Sargon II. The sculptured and lettered slabs were removed to the museum of the Louvre, in Paris. In 1845–1851 Layard disentombed the palace of Sennacherib and those of other kings at Nineveh and Calah (the earliest capital of the Assyrian kingdom), and enriched the British Museum with the treasures of his search.

FIG. 49. EXCAVATING AN ASSYRIAN PALACE. (After *Layard*)

69. Assyrian Palaces and their Wall Sculptures. The Assyrian kings paid more attention to the royal residence than to the temples of the gods, though they were by no means neglectful of the latter. In imitation of the Babylonian sovereigns they built their palaces and temples upon artificial terraces or platforms. The great palace mound at Nineveh covers an area of about one hundred acres, and is sixty or seventy feet in height. Upon this mound stood several of the most splendid palaces of the Ninevite kings.

The group of buildings constituting the royal residence was often of enormous extent; the various courts, halls, and chambers of the

palace of Sennacherib, which surmounted the great platform at Nineveh, covered an area of twenty acres. The palaces were one-storied. The rooms and galleries were plastered with stucco, paneled with precious woods, or lined with enameled bricks. The main halls, however, and the great open courts were faced with slabs of alabaster, covered with sculptures and inscriptions, the illustrated narrative of the wars and the labors of the monarch. There were nearly two miles of such sculptured paneling at Kuyunjik. At the portals, to guard the approach, were stationed the colossal human-headed bulls. The human figures of the wall carvings are generally stiff and without special artistic merit, but some of the animal sculptures, as is often the case in primitive art (see sect. 4), are of surprising excellence. The hunting pictures are particularly fine and strong. "There are animals among these hunting scenes," affirms the sculptor Lorado Taft, "that have never been surpassed by the sculptors of any age or country."

FIG. 50. EMBLEM OF ASHUR, THE SUPREME DEITY OF ASSYRIA

70. The Royal Library at Nineveh. Within the palace of Ashur-bani-pal at Nineveh was discovered what is known as the Royal Library, the largest and most important library of the old Semitic world, from which over twenty thousand tablets were taken. We learn from the inscriptions that a librarian had charge of the collection. Catalogues of the books have been found, made out on clay tablets. Respecting the purpose of the library an inscription says, "I [Ashur-bani-pal] wrote upon the tablets; I placed them in my palace for the instruction of my people."

The greater part of the tablets were copies of older Babylonian works; for the literature of the Assyrians, as well as their arts and sciences, was borrowed almost in a body from the Babylonians.[1] All

[1] The relations of Assyria to Babylonian civilization may be illustrated by the relations of Rome (also a military empire) to Greek culture.

the old temple libraries of the lower country were ransacked by the agents of Ashur-bani-pal, and copies of "the old masters" made for the new palace collection at Nineveh. In this way was preserved in duplicate a considerable portion of the early Babylonian literature, besides historical records, and astronomical, medicinal, and other scientific works. The literary treasures secured from the Ninevite library are of much greater interest and value to us than those yielded by any other Assyrian-Babylonian collection thus far unearthed.

FIG. 51. RESTORATION OF A COURT IN SARGON'S PALACE AT KHORSABAD (After *Fergusson*)

71. Cruelty of the Assyrians. The Assyrians have been called the "Romans of Asia." They were a proud, warlike, and cruel race. The Assyrian kings seem to have surpassed all others in the cruelty which characterizes the warfare of the whole ancient Orient. The sculptured marbles of their palaces exhibit the hideously cruel tortures inflicted by them upon prisoners (Fig. 52). A royal inscription which is a fair specimen of many others runs as follows: "The nobles, as many as had revolted, I flayed; with their skins I covered the pyramid. . . . Three thousand of their captives I burned with fire.

I left not one alive among them to become a hostage. . . . I cut off the hands [and] feet of some; I cut off the noses, the ears [and] the fingers of others; the eyes of the numerous soldiers I put out. . . . Their young men [and] their maidens I burned as a holocaust."[1]

FIG. 52. ASSYRIANS FLAYING PRISONERS ALIVE. (From a bas-relief)

The significant thing here is that the king exults in having done these things and thinks to immortalize himself by portraying them upon imperishable stone. The careful way in which to-day all reference to atrocities of this character, when in the fury of battle they

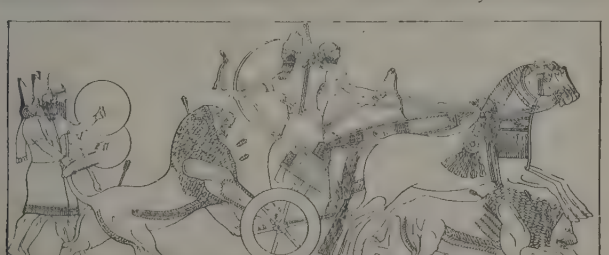


FIG. 53. LION HUNT. (From Nineveh)

are inflicted upon an enemy, are suppressed by those responsible for them, and the indignant condemnation of them by the public opinion of the civilized world, measures the moral progress humanity has made even along those lines on which progress has been so painfully slow and halting.

[1] *Records of the Past* (New Series), vol. ii, pp. 143 ff.

72. Royal Sports. The Assyrian king gloried in being, like the great Nimrod, "a mighty hunter before the Lord." In his inscriptions the wild beasts he has slain are as carefully enumerated as the cities he has captured. The monuments are covered with sculptures that represent the king engaged in this favorite royal sport of the Orient. We see him slaying lions, bulls, and boars, as well as less dangerous animals of the chase, with which the uncultivated tracts of the country appear to have abounded.

73. Services Rendered Civilization by Assyria. Assyria did a work like that done by Rome at a later time. Just as Rome welded all the peoples of the Mediterranean world into a great empire, and then throughout her vast domains scattered the seeds of the civilization which she had borrowed from vanquished Greece, so did Assyria weld into a great empire the innumerable petty warring states and tribes of western Asia, and then throughout her extended dominions spread the civilization which she had in the main borrowed from the conquered Babylonians.

Selections from the Sources. *Records of the Past* (New Series), vol. v, pp. 120–128, "The Nimrud Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III," on military and building operations. *Ibid.* vol. iv, pp. 38–52, "Inscription on the Obelisk of Shalmaneser II," shows the harshness and cruelty of Assyrian warfare. This inscription, along with many other selected translations, can also be found in Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*. The *Old Testament*, Nahum iii, 18, 19; Zeph. ii, 13–15.

References (Modern). Maspero, *The Struggle of the Nations*, chap. vi, and *The Passing of the Empires*, chaps. i–v. Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. i (last part). Goodspeed, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pt. iii. Layard, *Nineveh and its Remains*. Perrot and Chipiez, *A History of Art in Chaldæa and Assyria*, 2 vols. Rogers, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. ii, pp. 1–295. Ragozin, *The Story of Assyria*. Winckler, *The History of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 167–310. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, chap. x.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Layard's excavations and discoveries: see his *Nineveh and its Remains*. 2. Sargon's palace at Khorsabad: Hilprecht, *Explorations in Bible Lands*, pp. 84–87. 3. Assyrian art: Reinach, *Apollo*, pp. 23–27. 4. Industrial and social life: Goodspeed, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pp. 71–76. 5. A royal hunting adventure: Maspero, *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chap. xiv.

CHAPTER VI

THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE

(625–538 B.C.)

74. Babylon becomes again a World Power. Nabopolassar (625–605 B.C.) was the founder of what is known as the Chaldean Empire.[1] At first a vassal king, when troubles and misfortunes began to thicken about the Assyrian court, he revolted and became independent. Later he entered into an alliance with the Median king against his former suzerain (sect. 67). Through the overthrow of Nineveh and the break-up of the Assyrian Empire, the Babylonian state received large accessions of territory. For a short time thereafter Babylon filled a great place in history.

75. Nebuchadnezzar II (605–561 B.C.). Nabopolassar was followed by his renowned son Nebuchadnezzar, whose gigantic architectural works rendered Babylon the wonder of the ancient world.

Jerusalem, having repeatedly revolted, was finally taken and sacked (sect. 85). The temple was stripped of its sacred vessels of silver and gold, which were carried away to Babylon, and the temple itself was given to the flames; a part of the people were also carried away into the "Great Captivity" (586 B.C.).

With Jerusalem subdued, Nebuchadnezzar pushed with all his forces the siege of the Phœnician city of Tyre, whose investment had been commenced several years before. In striking language the prophet Ezekiel (xxix, 18) describes the length and hardness of the siege: "Every head was made bald, and every shoulder was peeled." After thirteen years Nebuchadnezzar was apparently forced to raise the siege.

[1] Called also the New Babylonian Empire. Nabopolassar represented the Chaldeans (Kaldu), a people whose home was on the Persian Gulf, and who made themselves gradually masters of Babylon.

Nebuchadnezzar sought to rival even the Pharaohs in the execution of immense works requiring a vast expenditure of human labor. Among his works were the Great Palace in the royal quarter of

FIG. 54. RESTORATION OF THE SOUTHERN CITADEL OF BABYLON. (From Koldewey's *Excavations at Babylon*)

The citadel of Babylon was an artificial mound surrounded with stupendous walls and crowned with the royal residence and other buildings. The upper left-hand portion of the cut shows the restored palace of Nebuchadnezzar with its three great courts. Near the center of the picture is seen the famous Ishtar Gate — a double towered gateway. Its walls were decorated with an immense number of animals in relief. The round inset shows the excavated towers. Passing through the Ishtar Gate was the great Procession Street (see note under Fig. 55). In the lower left-hand corner of the palace inclosure will be noted a vaulted structure. This is conjecturally connected by Dr. Koldewey with the famous Hanging Gardens[1]

Babylon, the celebrated Hanging Gardens,[1] the quays along the Euphrates, and the city walls. The gardens and the walls were reckoned among the seven wonders of the ancient world.

[1] The Hanging Gardens, according to a Greek tradition, were constructed by Nebuchadnezzar to please his wife Amytis, who, tired of the monotony of the Babylonian plains, longed for the mountain scenery of her native Media. Dr. Koldewey, the

Especially zealous was Nebuchadnezzar in the erection and restoration of the shrines of the gods. "Like dear life," runs one of his inscriptions, "love I the building of their lodging places." He dwells with fondness on all the details of the work, and tells how he ornamented with precious stones the panelings of the shrines, roofed them with huge beams of cedar overlaid with gold and silver, and decorated the gates with plates of bronze, making the sacred abodes as "brilliant as the sun" and "bright as the stars of heaven."[1]

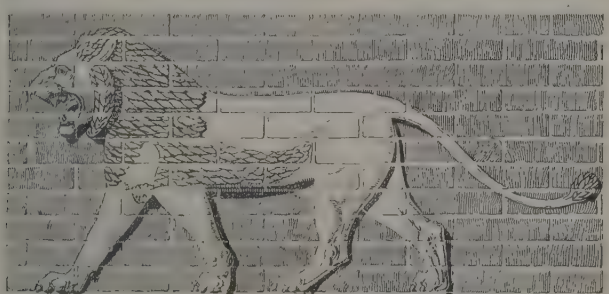


FIG. 55. BABYLONIAN LION. (From Koldewey, *Excavations at Babylon*)

A characteristic feature of Babylonian art was the decoration of walls with figures formed of colored enameled bricks. The figure here shown is a restoration from excavated fragments. Over a hundred such figures formed the magnificent friezes of the walls lining the great Procession Street (Fig. 54), made by Nebuchadnezzar, and leading to the famous temple of Marduk

76. The Fall of Babylon (538 B.C.). The glory of the New Babylonian Empire passed away with Nebuchadnezzar. Among the mountains and on the uplands to the east of the Tigris-Euphrates valley there had been growing up an Aryan kingdom. At the time which we have now reached, this state, through the destruction of the Assyrian Empire (sect. 67) and the absorption of its provinces, had

director of the German excavations at Babylon, unearthed massive ruins which he thinks may have formed the vaulted substructure of the gardens. "The reason," he says, "why the Hanging Gardens were ranked among the seven wonders of the world was that they were laid out on the roof of an occupied building" (*Excavations at Babylon*, p. 180).

[1] See the inscription of Nebuchadnezzar, *Records of the Past* (New Series), vol. iii, pp. 102 ff.

grown into a great imperial power — the Medo-Persian. At the head of this new empire was Cyrus, a strong, energetic, and ambitious sovereign (sect. 102). Coming into collision with the Babylonian king Nabonidus he defeated his army in the open field, and the gates of the strongly fortified capital Babylon were without further resistance thrown open to the Persians.[1]

With the fall of Babylon the scepter of dominion, borne so long by Semitic princes, was given into the hands of the Aryan peoples, who were destined from this time forward to shape the main course of events and control the affairs of civilization.[2]

Selections from the Sources. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 134-143, "The East India House Inscription of Nebuchadnezzar II" (a record of the king's great building operations); and pp. 171–174, "The Cylinder of Cyrus" (an account of the taking of Babylon).

References (Modern). MASPERO, *The Passing of the Empires*, chap. v, and *Life in Ancient Egypt and Assyria*, chaps. xi–xx. ROGERS, *A History of Babylonia and Assyria*, vol. ii, pp. 297–381. GOODSPEED, *A History of the Babylonians and Assyrians*, pt. iv. SAYCE, *The Religions of Ancient Egypt and Babylonia*, pt. ii. WINCKLER, *The History of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 313–328. KOLDEWEY, *The Excavations at Babylon*.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The outer walls of Babylon: Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon*, pp. 1–6. 2. The Ishtar Gate and its wall decorations: Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon*, pp. 38–49.

[1] The device of turning the Euphrates, which Herodotus makes an incident of the siege, was not resorted to by Cyrus; but it seems that a little later (521–519 B.C.), the city, having revolted, was actually taken in this way by the Persian king Darius. Herodotus confused the two events.

[2] In the seventh and eighth centuries of the Christian era there was a revival of the Semitic power throughout the Orient by the Arabs, but the ascendancy of this race was of brief duration.

MEDIAN AND BABYLONIAN
EMPIRES ABOUT 600 B.C.
Median
Babylonian
0 100 200 300 400 500 600
Scale of Miles.
BLACK SEA
CAUCASUS MTS.
CASPIAN SEA
Aral Sea
Oxus
SOGDIANA
BACTRIANA
ARIA
ARIANA
Indus
LYDIA
Halys
ARMENIA
MT. ARARAT
Araxes
TAURUS MTS.
CILICIA
Carchemish
Nineveh
Calah
Tigris
Hamath
Sidon
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tyre
Damascus
Megiddo
Jerusalem
Assur
MEDIA
Rhagæ
Ecbatana
BABYLONIA
Babylon
Borsippa
Euphrates
Nippur
Susa
ELAM
Ur
Persepolis
PERSIA
ARABIA
EGYPT
Nile
RED SEA
PERSIAN GULF
ARABIAN SEA
M. H. N. WORKS

CHAPTER VII

THE HEBREWS

77. The Patriarchal Age. The history of the Hebrews, as narrated in their sacred books, begins with the departure of the patriarch Abraham out of "Ur of the Chaldees." The stories of Abraham and his nephew Lot, of Isaac and his sons Jacob and Esau, of the sojourn and the oppression of the descendants of Jacob in Egypt, of the Exodus under the leadership of the great lawgiver Moses, of the conquest of Canaan by his successor Joshua, and the apportionment of the land among the twelve tribes of Israel — all these wonderful stories are told in the old Hebrew Scriptures with a charm and simplicity that have made them the familiar possession of childhood.

78. The Israelites and the Canaanites. It was probably shortly after the end of the rule of the Hyksos (sect. 26) that the Hebrew refugees from the Nile-land, bearing the stain of their desert and nomadic life, drifted into Palestine from the "wilderness" beyond the Jordan. The country was at this time in possession of Amorite or Canaanite tribes, close kin of the newcomers. Their cities were strongly walled, and the desert warriors were not able to drive out the inhabitants. So the two peoples dwelt together in the land, the Canaanites holding in the main the hill districts and the Israelites the plains. The Hebrew nation arose from the intermingling and final union of the invaders and the native city inhabitants. This dual ancestry explains much in the religious and the moral life of the Hebrew people.

79. The Age of the "Judges" (ending about 1050 B.C.). The intrusion into Canaan of the Israelite tribes was followed by a long period of petty wars, brigandage, and anarchy. During this time there arose a line of national heroes, such as Gideon, Jephthah, and

Samson, whose deeds of valor and daring, and the timely deliverance they wrought for the tribes of Israel from their foes, caused their names to be handed down with grateful remembrance to following ages. These popular leaders, most of whom were local rulers, are called "Judges" by the Bible writers.

80. Founding of the Hebrew Monarchy (about 1050 B.C.). During the time of the "Judges" there was, as the history of the period shows, no effective union among the tribes of Israel. But the common danger to which they were exposed from enemies — especially from the warlike Philistines, who had come into Palestine from the Ægean region about 1200 B.C.[1] and the example of the nations about them, led the people finally to begin to think of the advantages of a more perfect union and of a strong central government.

The situation of things at just this time favored the rise of a Hebrew kingdom. All the great states of the Orient — Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, and the Hittite Empire — exhausted by their struggles with one another for supremacy or undermined by other causes, were suffering a temporary decline, and the way was clear for the advance into the arena of world politics of another competitor for imperial dominion. The hitherto loose confederation was changed into a kingdom, and Saul of the tribe of Benjamin was made king of the new monarchy (about 1050 B.C.).

81. The Reign of David (about 1025–993 B.C.). Upon the death of Saul, David, son of Jesse, of the tribe of Judah, assumed the scepter. After reducing to obedience all the tribes, David set about enlarging his dominions. He built up a real empire and waged wars against the troublesome tribes of Moab, Ammon, and Edom.

David was a poet as well as a warrior. His lament over Saul and Jonathan[2] is regarded as one of the noblest specimens of elegiac poetry that has come down from Hebrew antiquity. Such was his fame that the authorship of a large number of hymns written in a later age was ascribed to him.

82. The Reign of Solomon (about 993–953 B.C.). David was followed by his son Solomon. The son did not possess the father's talent for military affairs, but was a liberal patron of art, commerce, and learning.

[1] See above, p. 33, n. 1.

[2] 2 Sam. i, 17–27.

He erected with the utmost magnificence of adornment the temple at Jerusalem planned by his father David. The dedication ceremonies upon the completion of the building were most impressive.[1] Thenceforth this temple was the center of the Hebrew worship and of the national life.

For the purpose of extending his commerce Solomon equipped fleets upon the Mediterranean and the Red Sea.[2] Remote regions of Africa were visited by his ships, and their rich and wonderful products made to contribute to the wealth and glory of his kingdom. The reputed author of famous proverbs, he has lived in tradition as the wisest king of the East. He maintained a court of oriental magnificence. When the queen of Sheba, made curious by reports of his glory, came from South Arabia to visit him, she exclaimed, "The half was not told me."

83. The Division of the Kingdom (about 953 B.C.). The reign of Solomon was brilliant, yet disastrous in the end to the Hebrew monarchy. In order to carry on his vast undertakings he had laid oppressive taxes upon his people. When Rehoboam, his son, succeeded to his father's place, the people entreated him to lighten the taxes that were making their very lives a burden. He replied to their reasonable petition with haste and insolence: "My father," said he, "chastised you with whips, but I will chastise you with scorpions."

Immediately all the tribes, save Judah and Benjamin, rose in revolt, and succeeded in setting up to the north of Jerusalem a rival kingdom, with Jeroboam as its first king. This northern state, of which Samaria afterwards became the capital, was known as the Kingdom of Israel; the southern, of which Jerusalem remained the capital, was called the Kingdom of Judah.

Thus was torn in twain the empire of David and Solomon. United, the tribes might have maintained an empire capable of offering successful resistance to the encroachments of the powerful and ambitious monarchs about them. But now the land became an easy prey to the spoiler. It was henceforth the pathway of the conquering armies of the Nile and the Euphrates. Between the

[1] See 1 Kings v–viii. [2] 1 Kings ix, 26–28; x, 22.

powerful monarchies of these regions, as between an upper and a nether millstone, the little kingdoms were destined, one after the other, to be ground to pieces.

84. The Kingdom of Israel (953 ?–722 B.C.). The kingdom of the Ten Tribes maintained its existence for about two hundred years. Many passages of its history are recitals of the struggles between the worship of the national god Yahweh (Jehovah) and the idolatrous service of the gods of the surrounding nations. The cause of Yahweh was boldly espoused by a line of remarkable prophets, among whom Elijah and Elisha in the ninth century, and Amos and Hosea in the eighth, stand preëminent.

The little kingdom was at last overwhelmed by the Assyrian power. This happened 722 B.C., when Samaria, as we have already narrated in the history of Assyria (sect. 64), was captured by Sargon, king of Nineveh, and 27,290 of the inhabitants, the flower of the people, were carried away into captivity beyond the Mesopotamian rivers.

85. The Kingdom of Judah (953 ?–586 B.C.). This little kingdom, often on the verge of ruin from Egyptian or Assyrian armies, maintained a semi-independent existence for over three centuries. Then upon the extension of the power of Babylon to the west, Jerusalem was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Babylonian kings.

The kingdom at last shared the fate of its northern rival. Nebuchadnezzar, the powerful king of Babylon, in revenge for an uprising of the Jews, besieged and captured Jerusalem and carried away a large part of the people into captivity at Babylon (sect. 75). This event virtually ended the separate political life of the Hebrew race (586 B.C.). Henceforth Judea constituted simply a province of the empires — Babylonian, Persian, Macedonian, and Roman — which successively held sway over the regions of western Asia, with, however, one important period of national life under the Maccabees, during a part of the two centuries just preceding the birth of Christ (sect. 309).

It only remains to mention those succeeding events which belong rather to the story of the Jews as a people than as a nation. Upon the capture of Babylon by the Persian king Cyrus (sect. 76), that monarch permitted the exiles to return to Jerusalem and restore their

TAURUS MTS.
HITTITES
Carchemish
Daphne
Euphrates
Cyprus
Arvad
Hamath
Tadmor
Riblah
PHENICIA
LEBANON
SYRIA
MEDITERRANEAN
SEA
Sidon
Damascus
Tyre
ISRAEL
Samaria
Joppa
Jordan
Jericho
Jerusalem
Bethlehem
Hebron
Gaza
Philistia
JUDAH
Dead Sea
MOAB
AMMON
Beersheba
EDOM
Sela
EGYPT
Sinai Peninsula
RED SEA
MT. SINAI
THE DIVISION OF
SOLOMON'S KINGDOM
About 953 B.C.
0 50 100 150 200
Scale of Miles.
34°
36°
38°
30°
28°

temple. Jerusalem thus became again the center of the old Hebrew worship, and, although shorn of national glory, continued to be the sacred center of the ancient faith till the second generation after Christ. Then, in chastisement for repeated revolts, the city was laid in ruins by the Romans; while vast numbers of the inhabitants were slain, or perished by famine, and the remnant were driven into exile to different lands.

Thus by a series of unparalleled calamities were the descendants of Abraham "sifted among all nations"; but to this day they cling with a marked devotion and loyalty to the faith of their fathers.

FIG. 56. THE PLACE OF WAILING

A well-preserved portion of the substruction walls of the Temple at Jerusalem, where Jews assemble each Friday to bewail the desolation of Zion

86. Hebrew Literature. The literature of the Hebrews is a religious one; for literature with them was in the main merely a means of inculcating religious truth or awakening devotional feeling.

This unique literature is contained in sacred books known as the *Old* or *Hebrew Testament*. In these ancient writings patriarchal traditions, histories, dramas, poems, prophecies, and personal narratives blend in a wonderful mosaic, which pictures with vivid and grand effect the migrations, the deliverances, the calamities — all the events and religious experiences making up the checkered life of the people of Israel.

Out of the *Old Testament* arose the *New*, which we should think of as a part of Hebrew literature; for although written in the Greek language and long after the close of the political life of the Jewish nation, still it is essentially Hebrew in thought and doctrine, and is the supplement and crown of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Besides the Sacred Scriptures, called collectively, by way of pre-eminence, the *Bible* (the Book), it remains to mention especially the *Apocrypha*, which embraces a number of books composed after the decline of the prophetic spirit and showing traces of the influence of Persian and of Greek thought. Whether these books possess divine inspiration is among Protestants still a disputed question, but by the Roman Catholic Church they are in the main regarded as possessing equal authority with the other books of the Bible.

Neither must we fail to mention the *Talmud*, a collection of Hebrew customs and traditions with the comments thereupon of the rabbis, a work held by most Jews next in sacredness to the Holy Book; the writings of Philo, an illustrious Alexandrian philosopher (born about 25 B.C.); and the *Antiquities of the Jews* and the *Jewish War* by the historian Josephus, who lived and wrote at the time of the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans under Titus, that is, during the latter part of the first century after Christ.

87. Hebrew Religion and Morality. The ancient Hebrews made little or no contribution to science. They produced no new order of architecture. In sculpture they did nothing; their religion forbade their making "graven images." Their mission was to make known the idea of God as a being holy and just and loving — as the Universal Father whose care is over not one people alone but over all peoples and races — and to teach men that what God requires of them is that they shall do justice and practice righteousness.

This history-making idea of God and his character, which has profoundly influenced the religious and moral development of the race, was the most fruitful element in the bequest which the ancient Hebrews made to the younger world of Europe, and is largely what entitles them to the preëminent place they hold in the history of humanity.

88. An Ideal of Universal Peace. Another element of great historical significance in the bequest of Israel to civilization was an ideal of universal peace. The great prophets Isaiah and Micah, writing in the war-troubled times of the eighth century B.C., persuaded of the ultimate triumph of justice and righteousness in the world, foretold the coming of a time when the nations of the earth, with enmities

laid aside, should dwell together in unity and peace: "Out of Zion shall go forth the law, and the word of the Lord from Jerusalem; . . . and they [the nations] shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks; nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more." [1]

This is the first distinct expression in Hebrew literature, or in the literature of any race, of the brotherhood of man and a federated

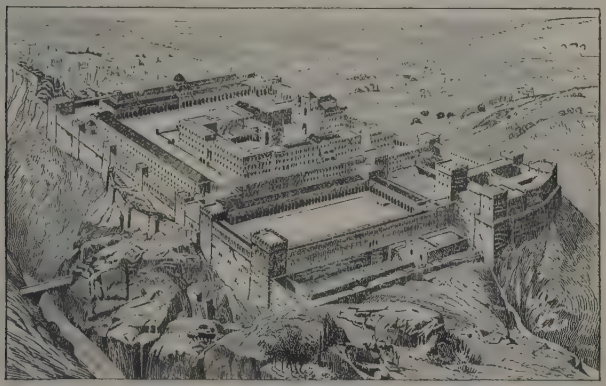


FIG. 57. THE LATER TEMPLE AT JERUSALEM AS ENLARGED AND BEAUTIFIED BY HEROD. (A reconstruction by Schick)

world. The lofty ideal has lived on through the ages, inspiring many visions of world unity and peace, and in our own day has found concrete embodiment in the noble Peace Palace at the Hague — but has not yet found realization in the conduct of the nations.

89. Ideas of the Future Life. Speaking of the Hebrew conception of the after life, George Rawlinson says: "How it happened that in Egyptian thought the future life occupied so large a space, and was felt to be so real and so substantial, while among the Hebrews and the other Semites it remained, even after contact with Egypt, so vague and shadowy, is a mystery which it is impossible to penetrate."

[1] Isaiah ii, 3, 4; Micah iv, 1–3.

The Hebrew conception of the future life was like that of the Babylonians. Sheol was the Babylonian "land of no return" (sect. 56), a vague and shadowy region beneath the earth, a sad and dismal place. "The small and the great were there." There was no distinction even between the good and the bad; the same lot awaited all who went down into the "pit." The good man was thought to receive his reward in long life and prosperity here on earth. But with the moral and religious development of the nation, under the leadership and inspiration of their great prophets and teachers, the Hebrews attained a wholly different conception of life beyond the tomb, so that it was finally by them that the doctrine of immortality and of a coming judgment was spread abroad in the Western world.

Selection from the Sources. The *Old Testament*, 2 Sam. i, 17–27, David's lament over Saul and Jonathan (see Nathaniel Schmidt's *The Message of the Poets*, pp. 364–367); 1 Kings v–viii, the building and the dedication by Solomon of the Temple at Jerusalem.

References (Modern). SAYCE, *Early Israel and the Surrounding Nations*. KENT, *A History of the Hebrew People*, 2 vols. RENAN, *History of the People of Israel*, 4 vols. CORNILL, *History of the People of Israel*. HILPRECHT, *Recent Research in Bible Lands* and *Explorations in Bible Lands in the Nineteenth Century* (consult tables of contents). MONTEFIORE, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of Religion as Illustrated by the Religion of the Ancient Hebrews*. BALL, *Light from the East*. BUDDE, *Religion of Israel to the Exile*. CHEYNE, *Jewish Religious Life after the Exile*. MOULTON, *The Literary Study of the Bible*. PETERS, *The Religion of the Hebrews*. The special student will of course consult MCCURDY, *History, Prophecy, and the Monuments*.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Israel in Egypt: Petrie, *Egypt and Israel*, chap. ii. 2. The Song of Deborah (Judges v): Nathaniel Schmidt, *The Message of the Poets*, pp. 354–362. 3. Some Hebrew laws concerning the poor and the bondsman: Exod. xxii, 25–27; xxiii, 10; Deut. xv, 7–15; xxiv, 6, 10–13.

CHAPTER VIII

PHŒNICIANS, HITTITES, AND LYDIANS

90. Introduction. Three peoples served as intermediaries between the culture lands of the Orient and the early centers of civilization in the West. Along the land and sea routes of trade and travel which they controlled, many of the elements of the civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia were carried to the Western lands. In the present chapter we shall relate some facts pertaining to these peoples which will indicate the place they hold in the cultural history of the ancient world.

I. THE PHŒNICIANS

91. The Land and the People. Ancient Phœnicia embraced a little strip of broken seacoast lying between the Mediterranean Sea and the ranges of Mount Lebanon.[1] One of the most noted productions of the country was the fine fir timber cut from the forests that crowned the lofty ranges of the Lebanon Mountains. The "cedars of Lebanon" hold a prominent place both in the history and in the poetry of the East.

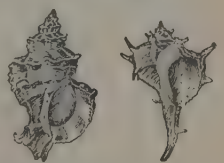


FIG. 58. SPECIES OF THE MUREX. (After *Maspero*)
The mollusks which secrete the famous purple dye of the ancient Tyrians

Another celebrated product of the country was a purple dye, which was obtained from several varieties of the murex, a species of shellfish, secured at first along the Phœnician coast, but later sought in distant waters, especially in the Grecian seas.

The Phœnicians were of Semitic race. Long before the advent of the Israelites in Canaan, these earlier comers had built great port cities along the Mediterranean and developed an extensive sea trade.

[1] In the study of this chapter the maps which will be found at pages 82 and 162 should be used.

92. Tyre and Sidon. The various Phœnician cities never coalesced to form a true nation. They constituted merely a sort of league or confederacy, the petty states of which generally acknowledged the leadership of Tyre or of Sidon, the two chief cities. The place of supremacy in the confederation was at first held by Sidon, but later by Tyre.

From about the eleventh to the fourth century B.C. Tyre controlled, almost without dispute on the part of Sidon, the affairs of Phœnicia. During this time the maritime enterprise and energy of her merchants spread throughout the Mediterranean world the fame of the little island capital. Alexander the Great, after a memorable siege, captured the city and reduced it to ruins (sect. 282). Tyre recovered in a measure from this blow, but never regained the place she had previously held in the world. The larger part of the site of the once great city is now "bare as the top of a rock"—a place where the fishermen that still frequent the spot spread their nets to dry.

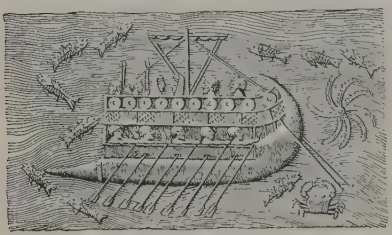


FIG. 59. PHŒNICIAN GALLEY. (From an Assyrian sculpture)

93. Phœnician Commerce. It was natural that the people of the Phœnician coast should have been led to a seafaring life. The lofty mountains that back the little strip of shore seemed to shut them out from a career of conquest and to prohibit an extension of their land domains. At the same time, the Mediterranean in front invited them to maritime enterprise, while the forests of Lebanon in the rear offered timber in abundance for their ships. They were skillful navigators, and pushing boldly out from the shore, made voyages out of sight of land. It is believed that they were the first to steer their ships at night by the polar star, since the Greeks called this the Phœnician Star. We have already seen how in the service of an

Egyptian king they circumnavigated Africa (sect. 29), thus anticipating by more than two thousand years the achievement of the Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama.

One of the earliest centers of activity of the Phœnician traders was the Ægean Sea. Here they exchanged wares with the natives, bought or kidnapped slaves, searched the seas for the purple-yielding mollusks, and mined the hills for gold. Herodotus avers that a whole mountain on one of the islands was turned upside down by them in their search for ores.

Towards the close of the tenth or the ninth century B.C. the jealousy of the Greek city-states, now growing into maritime power, closed the Ægean against the Phœnician adventurers. They then pushed out into the western Mediterranean. One chief object of their quest here was tin, which was in great demand on account of its use in the manufacture of bronze. The tin was first supplied by the mines opened in the Iberian (Spanish) peninsula. Later the bold Phœnician sailors passed the Pillars of Hercules, braved the dangers of the Atlantic, and brought back from those stormy seas the product of the tin-producing districts[1] of western Europe.

94. Phœnician Colonies. Along the different routes pursued by their ships, and upon the coasts visited by them, the Phœnicians established naval stations and trading posts. The sites chosen were generally islands or promontories easily defended, and visible from afar to approaching ships.

Settlements were planted in Cyprus, in Rhodes, and on other islands of the Ægean Sea, and probably even in Greece itself. The shores of the islands of Sicily and Sardinia were fringed with Phœnician colonies; while the coast of North Africa was dotted with such great cities as Utica, Hippo, and Carthage. Colonies were even planted beyond the Pillars of Hercules, upon the Atlantic seaboard. The Phœnician settlement of Gades, upon the western coast of Spain, is still preserved in the modern Cadiz. Its prosperity

[1] Probably one or all of the following regions: northwest Spain, southwest Britain (Cornwall), and the neighboring Scilly Islands — possibly the ancient Cassiterides. The subject has been and is a matter of controversy.

rested on the salt-fish trade of the Atlantic, as well as on the mineral products and agricultural riches of Spain.[1]

95. Arts Disseminated by the Phœnicians; the Alphabet. Commerce has been called the pathbreaker of civilization. Certainly it was such in antiquity when the Phœnician traders carried in their ships to every Mediterranean land the wares of the workshops of Tyre and Sidon, and along with these material products carried also the seeds of culture from the ancient lands of Egypt and Babylonia. In truth, we can scarcely overrate the influence of Phœnician maritime enterprise upon the distribution of the arts and the spread of culture among the early peoples of the Mediterranean area. "Egypt and Assyria," as has been tersely said, "were the birthplace of material civilization; the Phœnicians were its missionaries."

PHŒNICIAN	ANCIENT GREEK	LATER GREEK	ENGLISH
𐤀	Α	Α	A
𐤁	Β	Β	B
𐤂	Λ	Γ	C
𐤃	Δ	Δ	D
𐤄	𐌄	Ε	E
𐤅	𐌅		F
𐤆	Ζ	Ζ	Z

FIG. 60. TABLE SHOWING THE DEVELOPMENT OF ENGLISH LETTERS FROM THE PHŒNICIAN

Most fruitful of all the arts which the Phœnicians introduced among the peoples with whom they traded was the art of alphabetic writing. As early at least as the ninth century B.C. they were in possession of an alphabet (sect. 11). Now wherever the Phœnician

[1] From the mother city Tyre and from all her important colonies and trading posts radiated long routes of land travel by which articles were conveyed from the interior of the continents to the Mediterranean seaboard. Thus amber was brought from the Baltic, through the forests of Germany, to the mouth of the river Padus (Po), in Italy; while the tin of western Europe was, at first, brought across Gaul to the outlets of the Rhone, and there loaded upon the Phœnician ships. The trade with India was carried on by way of the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea, great caravans bearing the burdens from the ports at the heads of these seas across the Arabian and Syrian deserts to the warehouses of Tyre. Other routes led from Phœnicia across the Mesopotamian plains to Armenia, Assyria, Babylonia, Persia, and thence on into the heart of central Asia.

traders went they carried this alphabet as "one of their exports." It was through them that the Greeks received it; the Greeks passed it on to the Romans, and the Romans gave it to the German peoples. In this way our alphabet came to us from the ancient East.[1] It would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of this gift of the alphabet to the peoples of Europe. Without it their civilization could never have become so rich and progressive as it did.

Among the other elements of culture which the Phœnicians carried to the peoples of the Mediterranean lands, the most important, after alphabetic writing, were systems of weights and measures. These are indispensable agents of civilization, and hold some such relation to the development of trade and commerce as letters hold to the development of the intellectual life.

FIG. 61. THE HITTITE GOD OF THE SKY

A stele excavated by Dr. Koldewey in the palace of Nebuchadnezzar at Babylon, whither it probably had been carried as a war trophy from northern Syria. The figure holds in one hand the lightning and in the other an ax, a primitive symbol of power and sovereignty

II. THE HITTITES

96. The Empire of the Hittites. Our growing knowledge of the peoples and states of Asia Minor has revealed the fact that the elements of Egyptian and Mesopotamian culture were carried westward over the immemorial land routes through this peninsula as well as by the waterways of the Mediterranean. Chief in importance, before the Persian period, of the peoples controlling these land routes were, first, the Hittites, and then at a much later time the Lydians. We have already had our attention drawn to the empire of the Hittites (sect. 28), whose capital city Hatti was situated on the uplands of Asia Minor, east of the Halys River. From about 1600 B.C. on for several centuries this

[1] All systems of writing now in use, except the Chinese and those derived from it, are from the Phœnician script.

Hittite state was one of the great powers of the Orient, and divided with Egypt, Babylonia, and Assyria the control of western Asia. The empire finally fell to pieces, and the very memory of it was lost.

FIG. 62. CARAVAN CROSSING THE TAURUS. (From a photograph)

Scene on the ancient trade route – a branch of the great Royal Road (sect. 104) — which crosses the Taurus Mountains by the famous Cilician Gates. This road has been a chief artery of the trade of western Asia and the pathway of armies for more than four thousand years. Its long story of peace and war will end with the completion of the Constantinople-Bagdad railroad

97. Relation to the History of Civilization. The importance of the Hittite princes for the history of culture arises from the circumstance, as already intimated, that the great overland trade routes

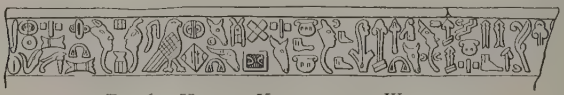


FIG. 63. HITTITE HIEROGLYPHIC WRITING

The key to this difficult script has not yet been discovered

between the East and the West ran through their dominions. They held, in a word, the same relation to the land traffic of the times that the Phœnicians held to the sea traffic. They themselves absorbed

various elements of Egyptian and Babylonian-Assyrian culture. They developed an art which bore the deep impress of Assyrian influence, and worked out a system of hieroglyphic writing, probably under the influence of Egypt. This is a very difficult script and has not yet been deciphered. In their foreign diplomatic correspondence they used the Babylonian cuneiform script, and many clay tablets like those of the Mesopotamian countries have been found on the site of the ancient capital.[1]

III. THE LYDIANS

98. The Land and the People. The third people that played the rôle of intermediaries in the ancient world were the Lydians. Lydia was a country in the western part of Asia Minor. It was a land highly favored by nature. It embraced two rich river valleys — the plains of the Hermus and the Cayster — which from the mountains inland sloped gently to the island-dotted Ægean. The Pactolus, and other tributaries of the streams we have named, rolled down "golden sands," while the mountains were rich in the precious metals. The coast region did not at first belong to Lydia; it was held by the Greeks, who had fringed it with cities. Later, these cities, with the exception of Miletus, were subjugated by the Lydian kings. The capital of the country was Sardis. It seems probable that the Lydian state was a fragment of the great Hittite Empire.

99. Lydia a Connecting Link between the East and the West. As we have said, the Lydians hold an important place in the history of ancient culture because they played a part like that of the Phœnicians and the Hittites. The cities of the coast lands were the last stations towards the west of the great overland trade routes. They were the gateways through which various elements of the culture of the Orient passed into Europe.

The best gift of Lydia to the Western world was the art of coinage, for the Lydian kings were the first to coin gold and silver; that is, to impress a stamp upon pieces of these metals and thus testify to their purity and weight.[2] Before this invention gold and silver were

[1] The modern Boghaz-Keui.

[2] Holm, *History of Greece* (1899), vol. i, p. 214.

taken by weight,[1] which had to be determined anew by balances each time the metal changed hands. The invention, quickly adopted by the Greek cities, gave a great impulse to their expanding trade and commerce. From Greece the art was introduced into Italy. Thus Lydia gave to civilization one of its most important and indispensable agencies.

Selections from the Sources. *The Bible*, Ezek. xxvii (a striking portrayal by the prophet of the commerce, the trade relations, and the wealth of Tyre). *The Voyage of Hanno*, a record of a Phœnician exploring expedition down the western coast of Africa (a translation of this celebrated record will be found in Rawlinson's *History of Phœnicia*, pp. 389–392).

References (Modern). RAWLINSON, *History of Phœnicia* and *The Story of Phœnicia*. KENRICK, *Phœnicia*. Old (1855), but still valuable. LENORMANT and CHEVALLIER, *Ancient History of the East*, vol. ii (consult table of contents). SAYCE, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, chaps. iii, iv. DUNCKER, *History of Antiquity*, vol. ii, bk. iii, chaps. xi, xii. KELLER, *Colonization*, pp. 26–39. GARSTANG, *The Land of the Hittites*.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Phœnician commerce and its influence upon the progress of civilization: Keller, *Colonization*, pp. 28–30, 38–39. 2. The Tyrian purple dye: Rawlinson, *The Story of Phœnicia*, pp. 5, 6, 275–282. 3. A Phœnician adventure — the circumnavigation of Africa: Rawlinson, *The Story of Phœnicia*, chap. xii. 4. Crœsus and Solon: Herodotus, i, 29–33 (retold in Church, *Herodotus*, pp. 3–10).

[1] See Gen. xxiii, 7–16.

CHAPTER IX

THE PERSIAN EMPIRE

(558–330 B.C.)

I. POLITICAL HISTORY

100. Kinship of the Medes and Persians. It was in remote times, probably before 1500 B.C., that some Aryan tribes, separating themselves from kindred clans, the ancestors of the Indian Aryans, with whom they had lived for a time as a single community, sought new abodes on the plateau of western Iran. The immigrants that settled in the south, near the Persian Gulf, became known as the Persians; while those that took possession of the mountain regions of the northwest were called Medes. The names of the two peoples were always very closely associated, as in the familiar legend, "The law of the Medes and Persians, which altereth not."

101. The Medes at first the Leading Race. Although the Persians were destined to become the dominant tribe of all the Iranian Aryans, still the Medes were at first the leading people. Cyaxares (625–585 B.C.) was their first prominent leader and king. We have already seen how he overthrew the last king of Nineveh, and destroyed that capital (sect. 67). The destruction of the Assyrian power resulted in the speedy extension of the frontiers of the new Median empire to the river Halys in Asia Minor.

102. Cyrus the Great (558–529 B.C.) Founds a Great World Empire. The leadership of the Median chieftains was of short duration. A certain Cyrus, king of Anshan, in Elam, overthrew their power, and assumed the headship of both Medes and Persians. Through his energy and soldierly genius Cyrus soon built up an empire more extended than any over which the scepter had yet been swayed by oriental monarch, or indeed, so far as we know, by any ruler before his time.

After the conquest of Media and the acquisition of the provinces formerly ruled by the Median princes, Cyrus rounded out his empire by the conquest of Lydia and Babylonia.

The Lydian throne was at this time held by Crœsus (560–546 B.C.), the last and most renowned of his race. The tribute Crœsus collected from the Greek cities, and the revenues he derived from his gold mines, rendered him the richest monarch of his times, so that his name has passed into the proverb "rich as Crœsus."

Now the fall of Media, which had been a friendly and allied power, and the extension thereby of the domains of the conqueror Cyrus to the eastern frontiers of Lydia, naturally filled Crœsus with alarm. He at once formed an alliance with Nabonidus, king of Babylon, and with Amasis, king of Egypt, both of whom, like Crœsus, had fears for the safety of their own kingdoms. Furthermore, Crœsus formed an alliance with the Greek city of Sparta, which was now rising into prominence.

FIG. 64. CRŒSUS ON THE PYRE[1]

Without waiting for his allies to join him, Crœsus crossed the river Halys and threw down the gage of battle to Cyrus. But he had misjudged the strength and activity of his enemy. Cyrus defeated the Lydians in the open field, and after a short siege captured Sardis. Lydia now became a part of the Persian Empire (546 B.C.).

This war between Crœsus and Cyrus derives a special importance from the fact that it brought the Persian Empire into contact with the Greek cities of Asia, and thus led on directly to that memorable struggle between Greece and Persia known as the Græco-Persian War, the incidents of which we shall narrate in a later chapter.

[1] Legend tells how Cyrus caused a pyre to be built on which to burn Crœsus, and how Apollo, because the king had made rich gifts to his shrine, put out the kindling fire by a sudden downpour of rain. See Herodotus, i, 86 f.

The fall of Lydia was quickly followed by that of Babylonia, as has been already related as part of the story of the Chaldean Empire (sect. 76). Cyrus had now rounded out his dominions.

Tradition says that Cyrus lost his life in an expedition against Scythian tribes in the north. He was buried at Pasargadæ, the old Persian capital, and there his tomb stands to-day, surrounded by the ruins of the magnificent buildings with which he adorned that city.

103. Reign of Cambyses (529–522 B.C.). Cyrus the Great left two sons, Cambyses and Smerdis; the former, as the elder, inherited the scepter and the title of king. He began a despotic and unfortunate reign by causing his brother, whose influence he feared, to be secretly put to death.

FIG. 65. THE TOMB OF CYRUS, AT PASARGADÆ

With far less ability than his father for their execution, Cambyses conceived even vaster projects of conquest and dominion. Upon some slight pretext he invaded and conquered Egypt, together with Nubia. After a short, unsatisfactory stay in the country, Cambyses set out on his return to Persia. While on his way home, news was brought to him that his brother Smerdis had usurped the throne (an impostor, Gomates by name, who resembled the murdered Smerdis, had personated him, and actually seized the scepter). Entirely disheartened by this startling intelligence, Cambyses in despair took his own life.[1]

104. Reign of Darius I (521–484 B.C.). The Persian nobles soon rescued the scepter from the grasp of the false Smerdis, and their leader, Darius, took the throne. The first act of Darius was to punish those who had taken part in the usurpation of Smerdis.

[1] So the records of Darius inform us. Other less reliable accounts say that his death was the result of an accident.

With quiet and submission secured throughout the empire, Darius gave himself, for a time, to the arts of peace. He built a great palace at Susa; erected magnificent structures at Persepolis; reformed the administration of the government, making such wise and lasting changes that he has been called "the second founder of the Persian Empire"; and constructed post roads with which he bound together all parts of his extended dominion. The celebrated Royal Road ran from Susa through the ancient Assyria and Armenia, and across Asia

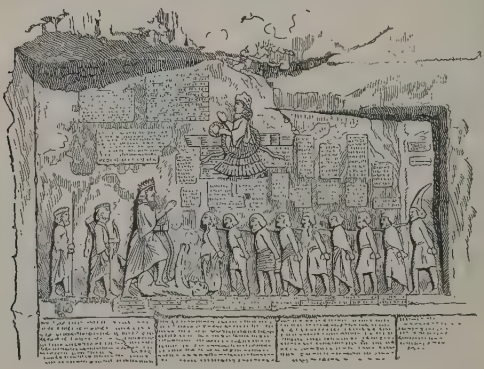
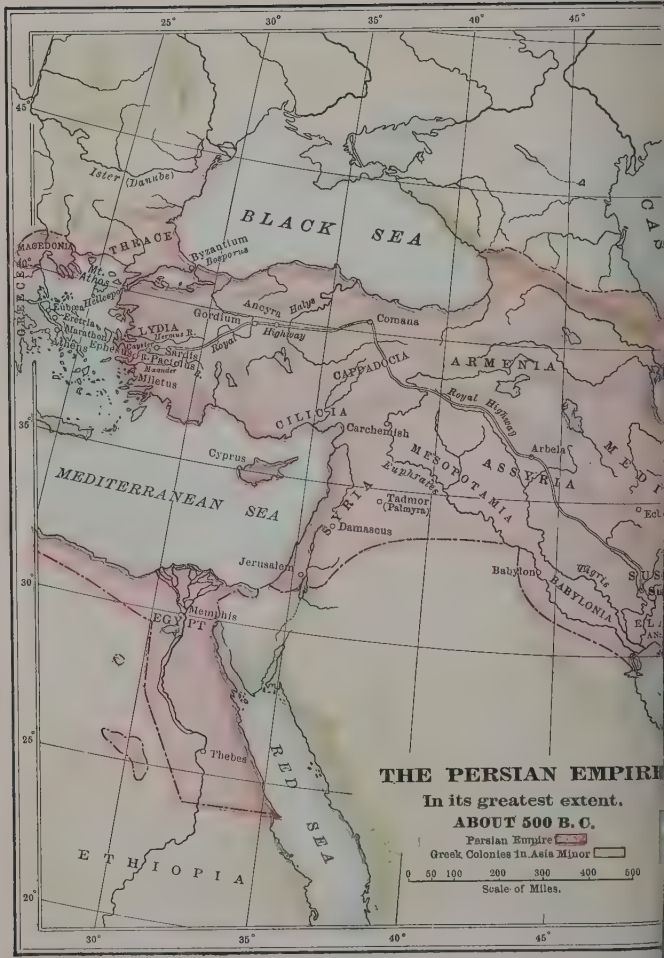


FIG. 66. INSURGENT CAPTIVES BROUGHT BEFORE DARIUS
(From the Behistun Rock)

Beneath the foot of the king is Gomates, the false Smerdis

Minor — over the uplands once controlled by the Hittite princes — to Sardis and so on to the Ægean at Ephesus.[1] This road must have been in the main merely the ancient trails, used by caravans from time immemorial, improved and better provided with relay stations. Over it couriers, changing frequently their mounts, carried the royal commands "swifter than the crane." This magnificent road was a main artery of ancient trade and commerce for more than a thousand years.

[1] See Herodotus v, 52, 53.



THE PERSIAN EMPIRE
In its greatest extent.
ABOUT 500 B. C.
Persian Empire
Greek Colonies in Asia Minor
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of Miles.
BLACK SEA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
RED SEA
Ister (Danube)
THRACE
MACEDONIA
GREECE
Mt. Athos
Hellespont
Euboea
Eretria
Marathon
Athens
Ephesus
LYDIA
Hermus R.
Sardis
R. Pactolus
Maander
Miletus
Byzantium
Bosporus
Gordium
Ancyra
Halys
Royal Highway
Comana
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
CILICIA
Carchemish
Cyprus
MESOPOTAMIA
Euphrates
Tadmor (Palmyra)
Damascus
SYRIA
Jerusalem
Arbela
ASSYRIA
Babylon
BABYLONIA
Tigris
Memphis
EGYPT
Thebes
ETHIOPIA

55°
60°
65°
70°
75°
80°
45°
40°
35°
30°
25°
20°
ARAL
SEA
SOGDIANA
Oxus
BACTRIANA
HYRCANIA
PARTHIA
Susia
ateau of Iran
A R I A N A
DRANGIANA
ARACHOSIA
PUNJAB
Indus
Pasargadæ
Carmana
Persepolis
ERSIS
CARMANIA
Gulf
GEDROSIA
ARABIAN SEA
Authorities
H. Kiepert, Atlas Antiquus
W. Siegfn, Atlas Antiquus
THE M'N. WORKS, BUFFALO, N.Y.

To commemorate his achievements, Darius inscribed upon the great Behistun Rock (Fig. 68), a lofty smooth-faced cliff on the western frontier of Persia, a record of what he had done.

FIG. 67. TRACES OF THE ROYAL ROAD OF DARIUS
(From Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*)

The great Royal Road of Darius can still be traced in places over the uplands of Asia Minor by the wheel-ruts of chariots and other vehicles worn in the surface rock. The section shown in the picture is near the old capital of the Hittites (see sect. 96)

And now the Great King, lord of western Asia and of Egypt, conceived and entered upon the execution of vast designs of conquest, the far-reaching effects of which were destined to live long after he had passed away. He determined to extend the frontiers of his empire into India and Europe alike.

At one blow Darius brought the region of northwestern India known as the Panjab under his authority, and thus by a single effort pushed out the eastern boundary of his empire so that it included one of the richest countries of Asia.

105. Campaigns in Europe. Several campaigns in Europe followed. These brought Darius in direct contact with the Greeks, of whom we shall soon hear much. How his armaments and those of his son and successor, Xerxes I (484–464 B.C.), fared at the hands of this freedom-loving people, who now appear for the first time as prominent actors in large world

FIG. 68. THE BEHISTUN ROCK
(After *Rawlinson*)

affairs, will be told when we come to narrate the history of the Greek city-states. We need now simply note the result — the wreck of the Persian plans of conquest and the opening of the great days of Greece.

106. The Decline and Fall of the Persian Empire. The power and supremacy of the Persian monarchy passed away with the reign of Xerxes. The last one hundred and forty years of the existence of the empire was a time of weakness and rebellions of satraps and nations, and presents nothing that need claim our attention in this place.

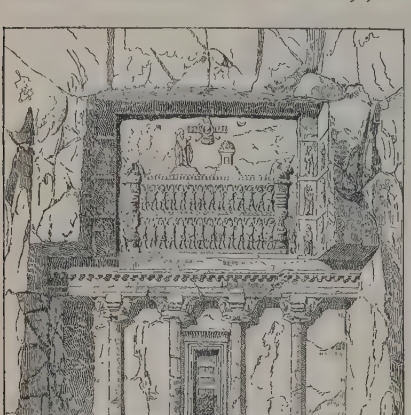


FIG. 69. ROCK-CUT TOMB OF DARIUS I, NEAR PERSEPOLIS. (After Flandin and Coste)

In the year 334 B.C. Alexander the Great, king of Macedonia, led a small army of Greeks and Macedonians across the Hellespont intent upon the conquest of Asia. His succeeding movements and the establishment of the short-lived Macedonian monarchy upon the ruins of the Persian Empire are matters that properly belong to Grecian history, and will be related at a later stage of our story.

II. GOVERNMENT, RELIGION, AND ARTS

107. The Extent and Population of the Empire. The extent of the Persian Empire and the number of races it embraced justified the claim of the Persian rulers to a universal dominion. They assumed the title of *king of kings*, and proclaimed themselves as "the lord of all men from the sun-rising to the sun-setting."

The population of the empire, including Egypt, was probably about fifty million, which is eight or nine million more than the same lands contain to-day. Of this number only about one-half million were genuine Persians.[1]

108. The Government. Before the reign of Darius I the government of the Persian Empire was like that of all the great empires that had preceded it, save the Assyrian in a measure and for a short space of time; that is to say, it consisted of a great number of subject states, which were allowed to retain their own kings and manage their own affairs, only paying tribute and furnishing contingents, when called upon in time of war, to the Great King.

We have seen how weak was this rude and primitive type of government. Darius I, who possessed rare ability as an organizer, remodeled the system of his predecessors, and actually realized for the Persian monarchy what Tiglath-Pileser IV had long before attempted, but only with partial and temporary success, to accomplish for the Assyrian (sect. 63).

The system of government which Darius thus first made a real fact in the world is known as the *satrapal*, a form represented to-day by the Turkish Empire.[2] The main part of the lands embraced by the monarchy was divided into twenty or more provinces, over each of which was placed a governor, called a satrap, appointed by the king. These officials held their position at the pleasure of the sovereign, and were thus rendered his subservient creatures. Each province contributed to the income of the king a stated revenue.

There were provisions in the system by which the king might be apprised of the disloyalty of his satraps. Thus the whole dominion was firmly cemented together, and the facility with which almost-sovereign states — which was the real character of the different parts of the empire under the old system — could plan and execute revolt, was removed.

109. Religion and Morality; Zoroastrianism. The literature of the ancient Persians was mostly religious. Their sacred book is called the *Zend-Avesta*.

[1] Eduard Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums*, III, 91, 2. Aufl.

[2] The provincial system of the Romans reproduced this satrapal system of the Persians.

The religious system of the Persians, as taught in the *Zend-Avesta*, is known as Zoroastrianism, from Zoroaster, its supposed founder. This great reformer and teacher is now generally believed to have lived and taught about 1000 B.C., though some scholars place him several centuries later.

Zoroastrianism, the first religion that claimed universality, that is, to be a creed for all men, was a system of belief best defined as dualism. There was a good spirit, Ahura Mazda, whose truest emblem or manifestation was fire. Upon high mountain tops the eternal flame on fire-altars was kept burning from generation to generation. Because of their veneration for fire the ancient Persians are often called fire-worshipers.

FIG. 70. ANCIENT PERSIAN FIRE-ALTARS. (From Perrot, *History of Persian Art*)

Opposed to the good spirit Ahura, or Ormazd, was an evil spirit Ahriman, who was constantly striving to destroy the good creations of Ahura by creating all evil things — storm, drought, pestilence, noxious animals, weeds and thorns in the world without, and evil in the heart of man within. From all eternity these two powers had been contending for the mastery; in the present neither had the decided advantage; but in the near future Ahura would triumph over Ahriman, and evil be forever destroyed.

The duty of man was to aid Ahura by working with him against the evil-loving Ahriman. He must labor to eradicate every evil and vice from his own heart; to reclaim the earth from barrenness; and to kill all noxious animals — frogs, toads, snakes, lizards — which Ahriman had created. Herodotus saw with amazement the priests

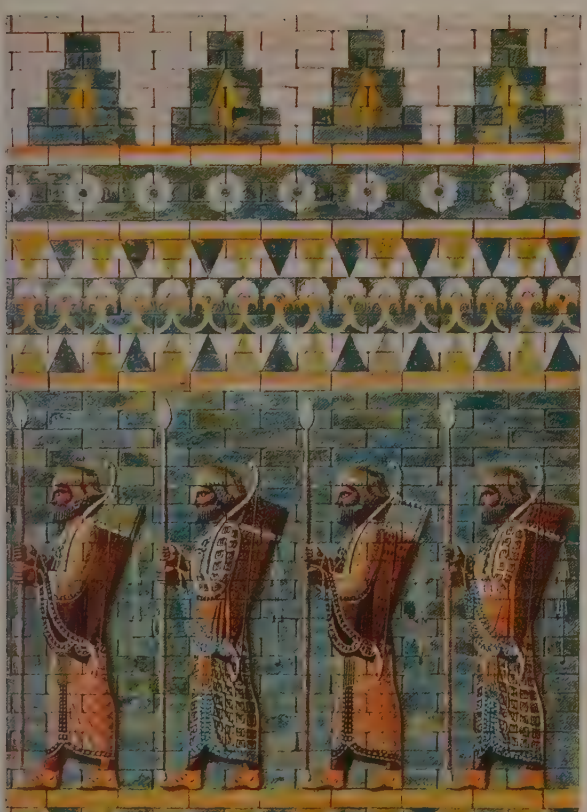


PLATE VII. "THE FRIEZE OF THE ARCHERS," FROM THE PALACE OF DARIUS AT SUSA. (After M. Dieulafoy, *L'Acropole de Suse*)

This frieze (now in the museum of the Louvre) is regarded as the masterpiece of Persian art. It is formed of enameled tiles (cf. Fig. 55 and note, on p. 77)

armed with weapons and engaged in slaying these animals as a "pious pastime." Agriculture was a sacred calling, for the husbandman was reclaiming the ground from the curse of the dark spirit.[1]

110. The Judgment of the Dead. As the moral feelings of the ancient Egyptians led them to create the Osirian tribunal of the underworld (sect. 41), so did the moral feelings of the Iranian teachers create a like judgment of the dead. The Persian conception of this judgment, however, was truer and loftier than the Egyptian. The soul was conceived as being judged by itself. Upon its departure from this life the soul of the faithful is met by a beautiful maiden, "fair as the fairest thing," who says to him: "I am thy own conscience; I was lovely and thou madest me still lovelier; I was fair and thou madest me still fairer through thy good thought, thy good speech, and thy good deed." And then the soul is led into the paradise of endless light. But the soul of the wicked one is met by a hideous old woman, "uglier than the ugliest thing," who is his own conscience. She says to him: "I am thy bad actions, O youth of evil thoughts, of evil words, of evil deeds, of evil religion. It is on account of thy will and actions that I am hideous and vile." And then the soul is led down into the hell of endless darkness.[2]

FIG. 71. THE KING IN COMBAT WITH A MONSTER SYMBOLIZING AHRIMAN. (From Persepolis)

[1] After the Zoroastrians had added to their creed the Magian belief in the sacredness of the elements, — earth, water, fire, and air, — there arose a difficulty in regard to the disposal of dead bodies. They could neither be burned, buried, thrown into the water, nor left to decay in a sepulchral chamber or in the open air without polluting one or another of the sacred elements. So they were given to the birds and wild beasts, being exposed on lofty towers or in desert places. Those whose feelings would not allow them thus to dispose of their dead were permitted to bury them, provided they first encased the body in wax to preserve the ground from contamination.

[2] *Zend-Avesta*, pt. ii, yasht xxii (Sacred Books of the East, vol. xxiii, pp. 314 ff.).

Thus in the earliest period of the faith of the *Zend-Avesta* was taught the doctrine that heaven and hell are within the human soul itself, and that conscience is the supreme witness and judge of the soul's worthiness or unworthiness.

111. The Duty of Truthfulness. Among the special virtues of the Persian moral code was truthfulness. As Ahura was the god of sincerity and truth, the man who battles on his side must also be sincere and truthful. Lying was the great crime. To lie, to deceive, was to be a follower of Ahriman, the god of lies and deceit.

FIG. 72. THE RUINS OF PERSEPOLIS

"The most disgraceful thing in the world," affirms Herodotus in his account of the Persians, "they think, is to tell a lie."[1] In his report of the Persian system of education he says: "The boys are taught to ride, to draw the bow, and to speak the truth."[2] I was not wicked, nor a *liar*, is the substance and purport of many a record of the ancient kings.

The Persian rulers, shaming in this all other nations ancient and modern, kept sacredly their pledged word; only once were they ever even charged with having broken a treaty with a foreign power.[3]

[1] Herodotus, i, 139. [2] *Ibid.* i, 136.

[3] This was in the case of the city of Barca (see Herodotus, iv, 201). The later Persians fell away woefully from this high standard.

112. Architecture. In the earliest times the Persians had no temples. Their fire-altars stood beneath the open heavens. The palace of the monarch was the structure that absorbed the best efforts of the Persian architect. In imitation of the builders of the Tigris-Euphrates valley the Persian kings raised their palaces upon lofty terraces or platforms. But upon the table-lands they used stone instead of brick, and at Persepolis built for the substruction of their palaces an immense platform of massive masonry, which, with its sculptured stairways, is one of the most wonderful monuments of the world's ancient builders.

Surmounting this platform are the ruins of the residences of several of the Persian monarchs. The ruins consist mainly of lofty columns and great monolithic door and window frames. Colossal winged bulls, copied from the Assyrians, stand as wardens at the gateway of the ruined palaces. Numerous sculptures decorate the faces of the walls, and these throw much light upon the manners and customs of the ancient Persian kings. The successive palaces increase not only in size but in sumptuousness of adornment, thus registering those changes which may be traced in the national history. The residence of Cyrus was small and modest, while that of Artaxerxes III (359–338 B.C.) equaled in size the great palace of the Assyrian Sargon.

Selections from the Sources. HERODOTUS, i, 46–55, on Crœsus and the oracles; 86–91, on Cyrus and Crœsus; 131–140, on the customs of the Persians. Harper's *Assyrian and Babylonian Literature*, pp. 174–187, "The Large Inscription of Darius from Behistun." (We make no reference either here or in the following chapter to the *Sacred Books of the East*, for the reason that these translations are in general not suited to young readers.)

References (Modern). MASPERO, *The Passing of the Empires*, chap. vi. RAWLINSON, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. iii, pp. 84–539. SAYCE, *The Ancient Empires of the East*, chaps. iv, v. WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*, chap. xii. JACKSON, *Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran*. HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East*, chap. xii, pp. 551–579. BENJAMIN, *Persia*, chaps. vii–xi.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Persian character and public and private life: Rawlinson, *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. iii, chap. iii, pp. 164–247. 2. The Royal Road from Susa to Sardis: Herodotus, v, 52–54. 3. The Parsees, the modern representatives of the ancient fire-worshipers: see *Encyc. Brit.*, vol. xx (11th ed.), under "Parsees."

CHAPTER X

THE EAST ASIAN PEOPLES

113. The East Asian Circle of Culture. While in Egypt and western Asia there were slowly developing the Egyptian, the Babylonian-Assyrian, the Syrian, and the Persian cultures of which we have given some account in the preceding chapters, there were developing at the other end of Asia, in India and China, civilizations which throughout this early period were in the main uninfluenced by the cultures of the West. Before following further the development of civilization in the Western lands, we must cast a glance upon these civilizations of the Far East.[1]

I. INDIA

114. The Aryan Invasion. At the time of the great Indo-European dispersion (sect. 18), some Aryan bands, journeying from the northwest, settled first the plains of the Indus and then occupied the valley of the Ganges. They reached the banks of the latter river as early probably as 1500 B.C.

These fair-skinned invaders found the land occupied by a dark-skinned, non-Aryan race, whom they either subjugated and reduced to serfdom, or drove out of the great river valleys into the mountains and the half-desert plains of the peninsula.

In the course of time the conquered peoples, who doubtless formed the great majority of the population, adopted the language and the religion of the invaders. "They became Aryans in all things save in descent."[2]

[1] Besides the Hindus and the Chinese, the Japanese are a third important people belonging to the East Asian sphere of culture, but as they did not emerge from the obscurity of prehistoric times until about the beginning of the fifth century of our era, when writing was introduced into Japan from the continent, their true history falls wholly outside the period covered by the present volume.

[2] The unsubdued tribes of southern India, known as Dravidians, retained their native speech. Over 54,000,000 of the present population of India are non-Aryan in language.

115. The Development of the System of Castes. The conflict and mingling of races in northern India caused the population to become divided into four social grades or hereditary classes, based on color. These were (1) the nobles or warriors; (2) the Brahmans or priests;[1] (3) the peasants and traders; and (4) the Sudras. The last were of non-Aryan descent. Below these several grades were the Pariahs or outcasts, the lowest and most despised of the native races. The marked characteristics of this graded society were that intermarriage between the classes was forbidden, and that the members of different classes must not eat together nor come into personal contact.

The development of this system, which is known as the system of castes, is one of the most important facts in the history of India. The system, however, has undergone great modification in the lapse of ages, and is now less rigid than in earlier times. At the present day it rests largely on an industrial basis, the members of every trade and occupation forming a distinct caste. The number of castes is now about two thousand.

116. The Vedas and the Vedic Religion. The most important of the sacred books of the Hindus are called the *Vedas*. They are written in the Sanscrit language, which is the oldest form of Aryan speech preserved to us. The *Rig-Veda*, the most ancient of the books, is made up of hymns which were composed chiefly during the long period, perhaps a thousand years or more, while the Aryans were slowly working their way from the mountains on the northwest of India across the peninsula to the Ganges. These hymns, the oldest of which probably date from about 1500 B.C., are filled with memories of the long conflict of the fair-faced Aryans with the dark-faced aborigines.

The early religion of the Indian Aryans was a worship of the powers of nature. As this system characterized the period when the oldest Vedic hymns were composed, it is known as the Vedic religion.

117. Brahmanism and the Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls. As time passed, this nature worship of the Vedic period developed into a form of religion known as Brahmanism. It is so named from

[1] At a later period the Brahmans arrogated to themselves the highest rank.

Brahma, which is the Hindu name for the Supreme Being. Below Brahma there are many gods.

A chief doctrine of Brahmanism is that all life, apart from Brahma, is travail and sorrow. We can make this idea plain to ourselves by recalling what are our own ideas of this earthly life. We call it a feverish dream, a journey through a vale of sorrow. Now the Hindu regards *all* existence, whether in this world or in another, in the same light. The only way to deliverance from pain and evil lies in communion with and final reabsorption into Brahma. But this return to Brahma is dependent upon the soul's purification, for no impure soul can be reunited with the Universal Soul. The purity of soul required for reunion with Brahma can best be attained by living aloof from society and by contemplation and self-torture; hence the asceticism of the Hindu devotee.

As only a few in each generation reach the goal, it follows that the great majority of men must be born again and yet again, until all evil has been purged away from the soul and eternal repose found in Brahma. He who lives a virtuous life is at death born into some higher caste or better state, and thus he advances towards the longed-for end. The evil man, however, is born into a lower caste, or perhaps his soul enters some unclean animal, or is imprisoned in some shrub or tree. This doctrine of rebirth is known as the Transmigration of Souls.

In the early period only the first three classes were admitted to the benefits of religion. The Sudras and the outcasts were forbidden to read the sacred books, and for any one of the upper classes to teach a serf how to atone for sin was a crime.

118. Buddhism. In the fifth century before our era a great teacher and reformer named Gautama (about 557–477 B.C.), but better known as Buddha, that is, "the Enlightened," arose in India. He was more Christlike than any other teacher whose life and words are known to us. He was of noble birth, but legend represents him as being so touched by the universal misery of mankind that he voluntarily abandoned the luxury of his home and spent his life in seeking out and making known to men a new and better way of salvation. His creed was very simple. What he taught the people was that they should

seek salvation — that is, deliverance from existence, which like the Brahman he felt to be an evil — not through sacrifices and rites and self-torture, but through honesty and purity of heart, through charity and tenderness and compassion toward all creatures that have life.

Buddha admitted all classes to the benefits of religion, the poor outcast as well as the high-born Brahman, and thus Buddhism was a revolt against the earlier exclusive system of Brahmanism.

Buddhism gradually gained ascendancy over Brahmanism; but after some centuries the Brahmans regained their power, and by the eighth century after Christ the faith of Buddha had died out or had been crowded out of almost every part of India.

But Buddhism has a profound missionary spirit, like that of Christianity, Buddha having commanded his disciples to make known to all men the way to salvation; and consequently during the very period when India was being lost, the missionaries of the reformed creed were spreading the teachings of their master among the peoples of all the countries of eastern Asia, so that to-day Buddhism is the religion of almost one third of the human race. Buddha has probably nearly as many followers as both Christ and Mohammed together.

During its long contact with Buddhism, Brahmanism was greatly modified, and caught much of the gentler spirit of the new faith, so that modern Brahmanism is a very different religion from that of the ancient system; hence it is usually given a new name, being known as Hinduism.[1]

119. Alexander's Invasion of India (327 B.C.). Although we find obscure notices of India in the records of the early historic peoples of western Asia, yet it is not until the invasion of the peninsula by Alexander the Great in 327 B.C. that the history of the Indian Aryans comes in significant contact with that of the progressive nations of the West.

From that day to our own its systems of philosophy, its wealth, and its commerce have been more or less important factors in universal history. Columbus was seeking a short all-sea route to

[1] Among the customs introduced or revived by the Brahmans during this period was the rite of suttee, or the voluntary burning of the widow on the funeral pyre of her husband.

this country when he found the New World. And in the upbuilding of the imperial greatness of the England of to-day, the wealth and trade of India have played no inconsiderable part.

II. CHINA

120. General Remarks: the Beginning. China was the cradle of a very old civilization, older perhaps than that of any other lands save Egypt and Babylonia; yet Chinese affairs have not until recently exercised any direct influence upon the general current of history. All through the later ancient and mediæval times the country lay, vague and mysterious, in the haze of the world's horizon. During the Middle Ages the land was known to Europe under the name of Cathay.

The beginning of the Chinese nation was a band of Mongolian wanderers who came from the west into the Yellow River valley, probably prior to 3000 B.C. These immigrants pushed out or absorbed the aborigines whom they found in the land, and laid the basis of institutions that have endured to the present day.

121. Dynastic History. The Chinese have books that purport to give the history of the different dynasties that have ruled in the land from a vast antiquity; but these records are largely mythical. While it is possible to glean some assured historic facts from the third and second millenniums B.C., it is not until we reach the eighth century B.C. that we tread on firm historical ground; and even then we meet with little of interest in the dynastic history of the country until we come to the reign of Che Hwang-te[1] (221–209 B.C.). This energetic ruler consolidated the imperial power, and executed great works of internal improvement, such as roads and canals. As a barrier against the incursions of the Huns, he began the erection of the celebrated Chinese Wall, a great rampart extending for about fifteen hundred miles along the northern frontier of the country.[2]

From the strong reign of Che Hwang-te to the end of the period covered by ancient history, Chinese dynastic records present no matters of universal interest that need here occupy our attention.

[1] Or Shih Hwang-ti.

[2] The Great Wall is one of the most remarkable works of man. "It is," says Dr. Williams, "the only artificial structure which would arrest attention in a hasty survey of the globe."

122. Chinese Writing. It is nearly certain that the art of phonetic writing (sect. 11) was known among the Chinese as early as 2000 B.C. The system employed is curiously cumbrous. In the absence of an alphabet, each word or idea is represented by means of a symbol, or combination of symbols; this, of course, requires that there be as many symbols or characters as there are words in the language. The number sanctioned by good use is about twenty-five thousand; but counting obsolete signs, the number amounts to over fifty thousand. A knowledge of five or six thousand characters, however, enables one to read and write without difficulty. The nature of the signs shows conclusively that the Chinese system of writing, like that of all others with which we are acquainted, was at first pure picture writing (sect. 11). Time and use have worn the pictorial symbols to their present form.

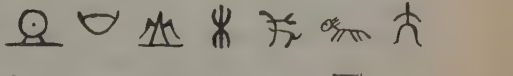


FIG. 73. SHOWING THE DERIVATION OF MODERN CHINESE CHARACTERS FROM EARLIER PICTORIAL WRITING. (From *Deniker*)

The upper line shows the earlier forms: 1, morning; 2, noon; 3, mountain; 4, tree; 5, dog; 6, horse; 7, man

This Chinese system of representing thought, cumbrous and inconvenient as it is, is employed at the present time by one third of the human race.

Printing from blocks was practiced in China as early as the sixth century of our era, and printing from movable types as early as the tenth or eleventh century, — that is to say, about four hundred years before the same art was invented in Europe.

123. The Teachers Confucius and Mencius. The great teacher of the Chinese was Confucius (551–478 B.C.). He was not a prophet or revealer; he laid no claims to a supernatural knowledge of God or of the hereafter; he said nothing of an Infinite Spirit, and but little of a future life. His cardinal precepts were obedience to parents and superiors, and reverence for the ancients and imitation of their virtues. He himself walked in the old paths, and thus added the

force of example to that of precept. He gave the Chinese the Golden Rule, stated negatively: "What you do not want done to yourself, do not do to others." The influence of Confucius has probably been greater than that of any other teacher excepting Christ and perhaps Buddha.

Another great teacher of the Chinese was Mencius (372–288 B.C.). He was a disciple of Confucius and a scarcely less revered philosopher and moral teacher.

124. Chinese Literature. The most highly prized portion of Chinese literature is embraced in what is known as the Five Classics and the Four Books, called collectively the Nine Classics. A considerable part of the material of the Five Classics was collected and edited by Confucius. The Four Books, though not written by Confucius, yet bear the impress of his mind and thought, just as the Gospels teach the mind of Christ. The cardinal virtue inculcated by all the sacred writings is filial piety. The second great moral requirement is conformity to ancient custom.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the influence which the Nine Classics have had upon the Chinese nation. For more than two thousand years these writings have been the Chinese Bible. But their influence has not been wholly good. The Chinese in strictly obeying the injunction to walk in the old ways, to conform to the customs of the ancients, have failed to mark out new footpaths for themselves. Hence their lack of originality, their habit of imitation; hence one cause of the unprogressive character of Chinese civilization.

125. Education and Civil-Service Competitive Examinations. China has a very ancient educational system. The land was filled with schools, academies, and colleges more than a thousand years before our era. Until recently a knowledge of the sacred books was the sole passport to civil office and public employment. All candidates for places in the government had to pass a series of competitive examinations in the Nine Classics.

126. The Three Religions: Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. There are three leading religions in China — Confucianism, Taoism, and Buddhism. The great sage Confucius is reverenced and worshiped throughout the empire. He holds somewhat the same relation

to the system which bears his name that Christ holds to that of Christianity. Taoism takes its name from Tao, which means Nature's way or method. It is a very curious system of mystical ideas and superstitious practices. Buddhism was introduced into China about the opening of the Christian era, and soon became widely spread.

There is one element mingled with all these religions, and that is the worship of ancestors. Every Chinese, whether he be a Confucianist, a Taoist, or a Buddhist, reverences his ancestors and prays and makes offerings to their spirits.

127. The Chinese Outside the Western Circle of Ancient Culture. Though constituting so important a factor in the East Asian circle of culture, the Chinese during ancient times, as we have already intimated, did not contribute any historically important elements to the civilization of the West Asian and Mediterranean lands. What contributions this great people will make to the general civilization of the future, the future alone will disclose.

References. For India: RAGOZIN, *The Story of Vedic India*. HUNTER, *A Brief History of the Indian Peoples*, chaps. i–vi. DUTT, *The Civilization of India*, chaps. i–v. RHYS DAVIDS, *Buddhist India* and *Buddhism, its History and Literature*. HOPKINS, *The Religions of India*. ARNOLD, *The Light of Asia* (this is Buddhism idealized).

For China: WILLIAMS, *A History of China*, chap. i (this work comprises the historical chapters of the author's *The Middle Kingdom*). GOWEN, *An Outline History of China*, pt. i, earlier chapters. LEGGE, *The Religions of China*. GILES, *The Civilization of China*, chaps. i–iii, and *A History of Chinese Literature*, pp. 3–116. DE GROOT, *The Religion of the Chinese* and *Religion in China*. MARTIN, *The Lore of Cathay*. DOOLITTLE, *Social Life of the Chinese*. GIEIL, *The Great Wall of China* (valuable for its illustrations; the literary qualities of the book cannot be commended).

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The old Chinese civil service competition examinations: Martin, *The Lore of Cathay*, chap. xvii; Doolittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, chap. xv–xvii. 2. The worship of ancestors and filial piety: Martin, *The Lore of Cathay*, chap. xv; Legge, *The Religion of China*, sect. ii, pp. 69–95; Giles, *The Civilization of China*, pp. 75–77.

PART II. GREECE

CHAPTER XI

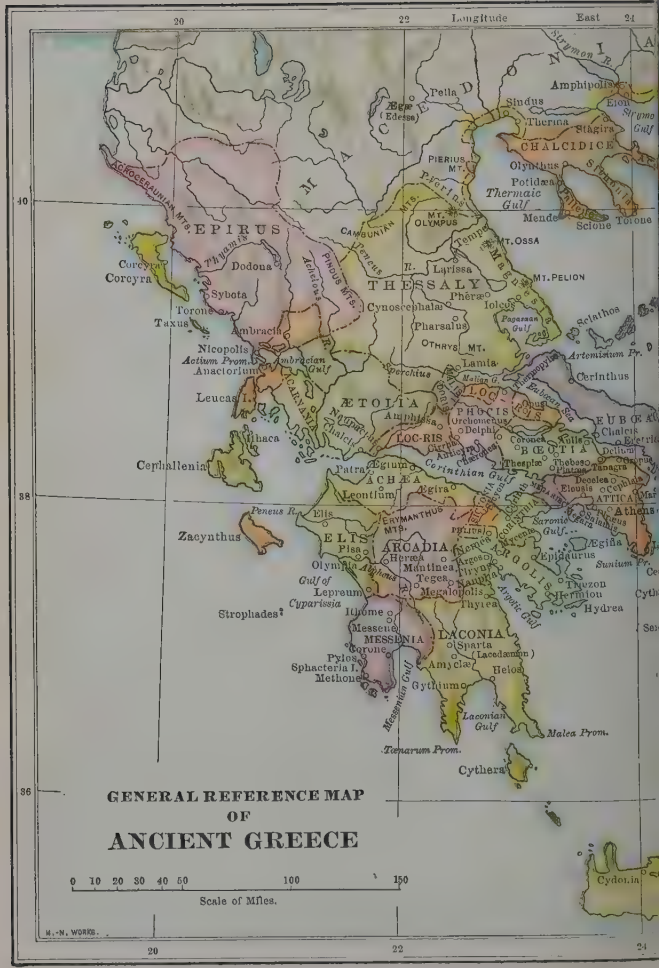
THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

128. Hellas. The ancient people whom we call Greeks called themselves Hellenes and their land Hellas. But this term *Hellas* as used by the ancient Greeks embraced much more than modern Greece. "Wherever were Hellenes there was Hellas." Thus the name included not only Greece proper and the islands of the adjoining seas, but also the Hellenic cities on the shore-lands of Asia Minor, in southern Italy, and in Sicily, besides many other Greek settlements scattered up and down the Mediterranean and along the shores of the Hellespont and the Euxine.

Yet Greece proper was the real homeland of the Hellenes and the actual center of classical Greek life and culture. Therefore it will be necessary for us to gain at least some slight knowledge of the divisions and the physical features of this country before passing to the history of the people themselves.

129. Divisions of Greece. Long arms of the sea divide the Greek peninsula into three parts, called Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. The southern portion, joined to the mainland by the Isthmus of Corinth, and now generally known as the Morea, was called by the ancients the Peloponnesus, that is, the Island of Pelops, from the fabled founder there of a mythic line of kings.

Northern Greece included the ancient districts of Thessaly and Epirus. Thessaly consists mainly of a large and beautiful mountain-walled valley. On its northern edge, between Olympus and Ossa, is a beautiful glen, named by the ancients the Vale of Tempe, the only practicable pass by which the plain of Thessaly can be entered from the side of the sea. The district of Epirus stretched along


Longitude East
20
22
24
40
38
36
MACEDONIA
Pella
Amphipolis
Sindus
Eion
Strymon R.
Strymonic Gulf
Tuerina
Stagira
CHALCIDICE
PIERIUS MT.
Olynthus
Potidæa
Thermaic Gulf
Mende
Scione
Torone
MT. OLYMPUS
MT. OSSA
EPIRUS
Corcyra
Dodona
Thyamis R.
Pindus Mts.
Achelous R.
Peneus R.
Larissa
THESSALY
MT. PELION
Sybota
Cynoscephalæ
Pharsalus
Pagasæan Gulf
Torone
Taxus
Ambracia
Nicopolis
Actium Prom.
Anactorium
Ambracian Gulf
OTHRYS MT.
Lamia
Sperchius R.
Malian G.
Thermopylæ
Artemisium Pr.
Sciathos
Cerinthus
Leucas I.
ÆTOLIA
LOCRIS
PHOCIS
Amphissa
Delphi
Parnassus
Chalcis
EUBŒA
Ithaca
Cephallenia
Naupactus
Gulf of Corinth
Patræ
Ægium
ACHÆA
Corinthian Gulf
Thespiæ
Thebes
Platæa
Tanagra
Aegira
Leontium
Helicon
Athens
ATTICA
Peneus R.
Elis
Erymanthus R.
Zacynthus
ELIS
Pisa
ARCADIA
Olympia
Alpheus R.
Gulf of Lepreum
Cyparissia
Strophades
Ilome
Messene
MESSENIA
Pylos
Sphacteria I.
Methone
Mantinea
Tegea
Megalopolis
Argolic Gulf
Ægina
Epidaurus
Troezen
Hermion
Hydrea
Thyrea
LACONIA
Sparta
(Lacedæmon)
Amyclæ
Helos
Gythium
Laconian Gulf
Malea Prom.
Taenarum Prom.
Cythera
Cydonia
GENERAL REFERENCE MAP
OF
ANCIENT GREECE
0 10 20 30 40 50 100 150
Scale of Miles.
M.-N. WORKS.

Greenwich
26
28
Tyris
Dicæa
THRACE
Abdera
Maronea
Mesambria
DORISCUS
Thasos
Ænos
Samothracia
Imbros
Hellespont
Sigeum
Ilium or Troy
Tenedos
Neandria
Larissa
Assos
Mt. IDA
Antandrus
Adramyttium
Bay of Adramyttium
Methymna
Lesbos
Mytilene
ÆOLIAN COLONIES
Elæa
Cyme
Phocæa
Magnesia
Smyrna
Clazomenæ
Erythræ
Chios
Teos
Lebedos
Colophon
Andros
IONIAN COLONIES
Samos
Ephesus
Tenos
Icaria
Priene
Miletus
Myconos
Delos
Patmos
Paros
Naxos
Amorgos
Cos
Thera
Halicarnassus
Chidus
Rhodes
Lindus
DORIAN COLONIES
Carpathus
Cnossus
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Bosporus
Perinthus
Selymbria
Propontis
Cyzicus
Priapus
Lampsacus
Abydos
PHRYGIA
HELLESPONTICA
MYSIA
Heraclea
Atarneus
Pergamus
Palopia
LYDIA
Hermus R.
Sardis
PHRYGIA
Macestus R.
Cayster R.
Mæander R.
CARIA
SPORADES
40
38
36
26
28
Authority:—
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus.

the Ionian Sea on the west. In the deep recesses of its forests of oak was situated the renowned Dodonean oracle of Zeus.

Central Greece was divided into eleven districts, among which were Phocis, Bœotia, and Attica. In Phocis was the city of Delphi, famous for its oracle and temple; in Bœotia, the city of Thebes; and in Attica, the brilliant Athens. Bœotia has been called "the stage of Ares" (the Greek god of war), because, like Belgium in modern Europe, it was so often the battle-ground of the warring Greek cities. The Attic land, as we shall learn, was the true center of the artistic and the intellectual life of Hellas.

Fig. 74. Gallery in the South Wall at Tiryns

"Tiryns the strong-walled." — *Iliad*, ii, 559

The chief districts of Southern Greece were Corinthia, Arcadia, Argolis, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis.

The main part of Corinthia formed the isthmus uniting the Peloponnesus to Central Greece. Its chief city was Corinth, the gateway of the peninsula, and the most important station on the great trade sea-route between eastern and western Hellas.

Arcadia, sometimes called "the Switzerland of the Peloponnesus," formed the heart of the peninsula. This region consists of broken uplands shut in from the surrounding coast plains by irregular mountain walls. The inhabitants of this district, because thus isolated, were, in the general intellectual movement of the Greek race, left far behind the dwellers in the more open and favored portions of Greece. It is the rustic, simple life of the Arcadians that has given the term *Arcadian* its meaning of pastoral simplicity.

Argolis formed a tongue of land jutting out into the Ægean. This region is noted as the home of an early prehistoric culture,

and holds to-day the remains of cities — Mycenæ and Tiryns — the kings of which built great palaces, possessed vast treasures in gold and silver, and held wide sway centuries before Athens had made for herself a name and place in history. The chief city of the region during the historic period was Argos.

Laconia, or Lacedæmon, embraced the southeastern part of the Peloponnesus. A prominent feature of the physical geography of this region is a deep river valley, — the valley of the Eurotas, — whence

FIG. 75. THE PLAIN OF OLYMPIA. (From Boetticher, *Olympia*)
The valley of the Alpheus in Elis, where were held the celebrated Olympic games

the descriptive term, *hollow* Lacedæmon. This district was ruled by the city of Sparta, the great rival of Athens.

Messenia was a rich and fruitful region lying to the west of Laconia. It nourished a vigorous race, who in early times carried on a stubborn struggle with the Spartans, by whom they were finally overpowered.

Elis, a district on the western side of the Peloponnesus, is chiefly noted as the consecrated land which held Olympia, the great assembling place of the Greeks on the occasion of the celebration of the most famous of their national festivals — the so-called Olympic games.

130. Mountains. The Cambunian Mountains form a lofty wall along a considerable reach of the northern frontier of Greece, shutting out at once the cold winds and hostile races of the north. Branching off at right angles to these mountains is the Pindus range, which runs south into Central Greece.

On the northern border of Thessaly is Mount Olympus, the most celebrated mountain of the peninsula. The Greeks thought it the highest mountain in the world (it is about ten thousand feet high), and believed that its cloudy summit was the abode of the gods.

South of Olympus, close by the sea, are Ossa and Pelion, celebrated in fable as the mountains which the giants, in their war against the gods, piled one upon the other and both upon Olympus, in order to scale the heavens.

Parnassus and Helicon, in Central Greece — beautiful mountains clad with trees and vines and filled with fountains — were believed to be the favorite haunts of the Muses. Near Athens are Hymettus, praised for its honey, and Pentelicus, renowned for its marbles. The Peloponnesus is rugged with mountains that radiate in all directions from the central country of Arcadia.

131. The Rivers and Lakes of the Land. Greece has no rivers large enough to be of service to commerce. Most of the streams are scarcely more than winter torrents. Among the most important streams are the Peneus, which drains the Thessalian plain; the Alpheus in Elis, on the banks of which the Olympic games were celebrated; and the Eurotas, which threads the central valley of Laconia. The Ilissus and Cephissus are little streams of Attica which owe their renown chiefly to the poets.

The lakes of Greece are in the main scarcely more than stagnant pools, the back water of spring freshets. In this respect, Greece, though a mountainous country, presents a striking contrast to Switzerland, whose numerous and deep lakes form one of the most attractive features of Swiss scenery.

132. Islands about Greece. Very much of the history of Greece is intertwined with the islands that lie about the mainland. On the east, in the Ægean Sea, are the Cyclades, so called because they form an irregular circle round the sacred island of Delos, where

was a very celebrated shrine of Apollo. Between the Cyclades and Asia Minor lie the Sporades, which islands, as the name implies, are sown irregularly over that portion of the Ægean. They are simply the peaks of submerged mountain ranges, which may be regarded as a continuation beneath the sea of the mountains of Central Greece.

Just off the coast of Attica is a large island called by the ancients Eubœa. Close to the Asian shores are the large islands of Lemnos, Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes.

In the Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Egypt, is the large island of Crete, noted in legend for its Labyrinth and its legislator Minos. This island was, before the historic age in Greece, a sort of midway station between the Ægean lands and Africa, and became the home of one of the earliest civilizations of antiquity. Tradition affirms that there were in the island in prehistoric times a hundred cities.[1] To the west of Greece lie the Ionian Islands, the largest of which was called Corcyra (now Corfu).

133. Climate and Productions. There is a great variety in the climate of Greece. In the north and upon the uplands the climate is temperate, in the south semitropical. The slopes of the mountains in Northern Greece and in Arcadia support forests of beech, oak, and pine; while the southern districts of the Peloponnesus nourish the date palm, the citron, and the orange. Attica, midway between the north and the south, is the home of the olive and the fig. The vine grows luxuriantly in almost every part of the land. Wheat, barley, grapes,[2] and oil are to-day, as they were in ancient times, the chief products of the country; but flax, honey, and the products of herds of cattle and sheep have always formed a considerable part of the economic wealth of the land.

The hills of Greece supplied many of the useful metals. The ranges of the Taygetus, in Laconia, yielded iron, in which the Lacedæmonians became skillful workers. Eubœa furnished copper, which created a great industry. The hills of southern Attica contained

[1] *Iliad*, ii, 649.

[2] At the present time the seedless grape ("currant") is the most profitable of all exports.

silver mines, which helped the Athenians to build their earliest navy.[1] Mountains near Athens and the hills of the island of Paros afforded beautiful marbles, which made possible the creation of such splendid temples as the Parthenon.

134. Influence of the Land upon the People. The physical geography of a country has much to do with molding the character and shaping the history of its people. Mountains, isolating neighboring communities and shutting out conquering races, foster the spirit of local patriotism and preserve freedom; the sea, inviting abroad and rendering intercourse with distant countries easy, awakens the spirit of adventure and develops commercial enterprise.

Now Greece is at once a mountainous and a maritime country. Mountain walls fence it off into a great number of isolated districts, and this is probably one reason why the Greeks formed so many small independent states, and never could be brought to feel or to act as a single nation.[2]

The Grecian peninsula is, moreover, converted by deep arms and bays of the sea into what is in effect an archipelago. There is no spot in Greece below Epirus and Thessaly which is over forty miles from the sea. Hence the Greeks were early tempted to a sea-faring life — tempted to follow what Homer calls the "wet paths" of Ocean, to see whither they might lead. Intercourse with the old civilizations of the Orient — which Greece faces[3] — stirred the naturally quick and versatile Greek intellect to early and vigorous thought. The islands strewn with seeming carelessness through the Ægean Sea were "stepping-stones," which invited intercourse between the settlers of Greece and the inhabitants of the delightful coast countries of Asia Minor, and thus blended the life and history of the opposite shores.

[1] See sect. 220.

[2] The history of the cantons of Switzerland affords a somewhat similar illustration of the influence of the physical features of a country upon the political fortunes of its inhabitants. But we must be careful not to exaggerate the influence of geography upon Greek history. For the root of feelings and sentiments which were far more potent than geographical conditions in keeping the Greek cities apart, see sects. 154, 155.

[3] That is to say, the most and the best of her harbors are on her eastern shore. Greece thus turns her back, as it were, to Italy.

How much the sea did in developing enterprise and intelligence in the cities of the maritime districts of Greece is shown by the contrast which the advancing culture of these regions presented to the lagging civilization of the peoples of the interior districts; as, for instance, those of Arcadia.

135. The Hellenes. The historic inhabitants of the land we have described were called Greeks by the Romans; but, as we have already learned, they called themselves Hellenes, from their fabled ancestor Hellen. They were divided into four families or tribes — Achæans, Ionians, Dorians, and Æolians. These several tribes, united by bonds of language and religion, always regarded themselves as kinsmen. All non-Hellenic people they called *barbarians*.[1]

When the mists of prehistoric times first rise from Greece, about the beginning of the eighth century B.C., we discover the several families of the Hellenic race in possession of Greece proper, of the islands of the Ægean, and of the western coast of Asia Minor. Respecting their prehistoric migrations and settlements we have little or no certain knowledge. In the next chapter we shall see how they pictured to themselves the past of the Ægean lands.

References. CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 9–46.[2] GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 141–163. ABBOTT, vol. i, chap. i. HOLM, vol. i, chap. ii. BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 1–5. TOZER, *Classical Geography* (Primer). RICHARDSON, *Vacation Days in Greece* (Dr. Richardson was for many years Director of the American School of Archæology at Athens; his delightful sketches of excursions to interesting historical sites will give a much better idea of the physical features of Greece than all the formal descriptions of the geographers). BUTCHER, *Some Aspects of the Greek Genius* (for the advanced student). MANATT, *Ægean Days* (has pictures of the life and scenes of the isles of the Ægean by one "smitten with the love of Greece").

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The nature and features of the land as factors in Greek life and history: Grote, vol. ii, pp. 153–157; Holm, vol. i, pp. 29, 30; Abbott, vol. i, pp. 19–23. Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 4, 5. 2. The marble quarries of Paros: Manatt, *Ægean Days*, chap. xvii, "Paros the Marble Island."

[1] At first this term meant scarcely more than "unintelligible folk"; but later it came to express aversion and contempt.

[2] We shall throughout cite the standard extended histories of Greece and of Rome by giving merely the author's name with volume and page.

CHAPTER XII

PREHISTORIC TIMES ACCORDING TO GREEK ACCOUNTS

136. Character and Value of the Legends. The Greeks of historic times possessed a great store of wonderful legends and tales of the foretime in Greece. Though many of these stories were doubtless in large part a pure creation of the Greek imagination, still for two reasons the historical student must make himself familiar with them. First, because the historic Greeks believed them to be true, and hence were greatly influenced by them. What has been said of the war against Troy, namely, "If not itself a fact, the Trojan War became the cause of innumerable facts," is true of the whole body of Greek legends. These tales were recited by the historian, dramatized by the tragic poet, cut in marble by the sculptor, and depicted by the painter on the walls of portico and temple. They thus constituted a very vital part of the education of every Greek.

Second, a knowledge of these legends is of value to the student of Greek history because recent discoveries in the Ægean lands prove that at least some of them contain a certain element of truth, that they are memories, though confused memories, of actual events.

Therefore, as a prelude to the story we have to tell we shall in the present chapter repeat some of these tales, selecting chiefly those that contain references to a wonderful civilization which is represented as having existed in the Ægean lands in prehistoric times, but which long before authentic Greek history opens had vanished, leaving behind barely more than a dim memory. In what measure these particular legends may reflect a real past we shall see in the next chapter.

137. Oriental Immigrants. The legends of the Greeks represent the early growth of civilization among them as having been promoted by the settlement in Greece of oriental immigrants, who brought

with them the arts and culture of the East. Thus from Egypt, legend affirms, came Cecrops, bringing with him the arts, learning, and priestly wisdom of the Nile valley. He is represented as the builder of Cecropia, which became afterwards the citadel of the illustrious city of Athens. From Phœnicia Cadmus brought the letters of the alphabet, and founded the city of Thebes.

The nucleus of fact in these legends is probably this — that the European Greeks received certain of the elements of their culture from the East. Without doubt they received thence letters, a gift of incomparable value, and hints in art, besides suggestions and facts in philosophy and science.

FIG. 76. THE LABYRINTH. (From a coin)

138. The Heroes; Heracles. The Greeks believed that their ancestors were a race of heroes of divine or semidivine lineage. Every tribe, district, city, and village even, preserved traditions of its heroes, whose wonderful exploits were commemorated in song and story.

Heracles was the greatest of the national heroes of the Greeks. He is represented as performing twelve superhuman labors, and as being at last translated from a blazing pyre to a place among the immortal gods. The myth of Heracles is made up in part of the very same tales that were told of the Chaldean hero Gilgamesh (sect. 59). Through the Phœnicians and the peoples of Asia Minor these stories found their way to the Greeks, who ascribed to their own Heracles the deeds of the Babylonian hero.[1]

139. Minos the Lawgiver and Sea-king of Crete. Many of the Greek legends cluster about the island of Crete. These have much to do with a great ruler named Minos, king of Cnossus, a city on the northern shore of the island. In some of the traditions he appears as the "Cretan Moses." He is represented as being the giver to his people of laws received, in a cave on a high mountain, from his

[1] Originally a solar divinity, Heracles, transferred from the heavens to the earth and idealized by the Greek moralists, became the personification and type of the lofty moral qualities of heroism, endurance, and self-sacrifice in the service of others (see sect. 359).

reputed father Zeus. He is further made to be the founder of the first great maritime state in the Ægean, and the suppressor of piracy in those waters. Some versions of the tradition make him to have been a cruel tyrant, who kept in a structure called the Labyrinth a monster named the Minotaur (Minos-bull), a creature half man and half bull, which he fed upon youths and maidens whom he exacted every year as a tribute from the city of Athens.

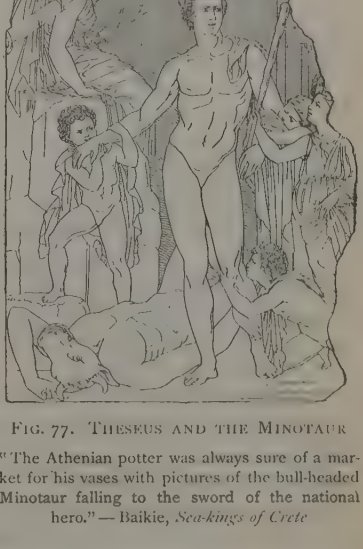


FIG. 77. THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR

"The Athenian potter was always sure of a market for his vases with pictures of the bull-headed Minotaur falling to the sword of the national hero." — Baikie, *Sea-kings of Crete*

140. Theseus and the Minotaur. Theseus was the favorite hero of the Athenians, being one of their legendary kings. Among his exploits, while yet a youth, was the slaying of the Cretan Minotaur. When the fatal time came round for the payment of the tribute of boys and girls, Theseus offered himself as one of the number, being resolved on killing the monster. Upon his arrival in Crete the fair-haired Ariadne, daughter of Minos, fell in love with him, and gave him a clew of thread which would guide him through the mazes of the Labyrinth. With this aid Theseus was able, after slaying the Minotaur, to find his way out of the Labyrinth and escape. Of what actual facts, doubtless mingled with mythological elements and colored by the imagination, this and the Minos legend may be a confused recollection we shall learn in the following chapter.[1]

[1] The very galley in which Theseus was believed to have made his voyage was religiously preserved at Athens till as late as the third century B.C., and was sent each year to the island of Delos on a mission commemorative of his exploit (see sect. 266).

141. Dædalus the Architect and Sculptor. Closely connected with the legendary figures of Minos and Theseus is that of Dædalus. The tradition represents him as an Athenian-born architect, inventor, and sculptor of unsurpassed ingenuity and excellence. He made statues in the attitude of walking that had to be chained to their pedestals so that they should not run away. Skilled in architecture, he constructed for Minos the famous Labyrinth, and a "dancing-floor" for the king's daughter, Ariadne. For aiding Ariadne in the Theseus adventure, or, as some say, for another fault, he was confined by Minos in the Labyrinth, from which, however, he escaped by ingeniously attaching wings to his body, and flew to the island of Sicily. Pursuing him thither with a fleet and army, Minos met a tragic death in the island. What actual facts connected with the origin and development of architecture and art in the Ægean lands may be embodied in this legend will appear later.

142. The Argonautic Expedition. Besides the labors and exploits of single heroes, such as we have been naming, the legends of the Greeks tell of various memorable enterprises which were conducted by bands of heroes. Among these were the Argonautic Expedition and the Siege of Troy.

The tale of the Argonauts is told with many variations in the legends of the Greeks. Jason, a prince of Thessaly, with fifty companion heroes, among whom were Heracles, Theseus, and Orpheus, — the latter a musician of superhuman skill, the music of whose lyre moved trees and stones, — set sail in "a fifty-oared galley" called the *Argo* (hence the name *Argonauts*, given to the heroes), in search of a "golden fleece" which was fabled to be nailed to a tree and watched by a dragon in a grove on the eastern shore of the Euxine — an inhospitable region of unknown terrors. The expedition was successful, and after many wonderful adventures the heroes returned in triumph with the sacred relic.

In its origin and primitive form this tale was doubtless an oriental nature myth; but in the shape given it by the Greek story-tellers it may be taken as symbolizing the explorations and adventures of the prehistoric Greeks or their predecessors in the North Ægean and the Euxine.

143. The Trojan War (legendary date, 1194–1184 B.C.). The Trojan War was an event about which gathered a great circle of tales and poems, all full of an undying interest and fascination.

Ilios, or Troy, was a strong-walled city which had grown up in Asia Minor just south of the Hellespont. The traditions tell how Paris, son of Priam, king of Troy, visited the Spartan king Menelaus, and ungenerously requited his hospitality by secretly bearing away to Troy his wife Helen, famous for her rare beauty.

FIG. 78. THE LIONS' GATE AT MYCENÆ

All the heroes of Greece flew to arms to avenge the wrong. A host of a hundred thousand warriors was speedily gathered. Agamemnon, brother of Menelaus and king of Mycenæ, "wide-wayed and rich in gold," was chosen leader of the expedition. Under him were the "lion-hearted Achilles" of Thessaly, the "crafty Odysseus," king of Ithaca, the aged Nestor, and many more — the most valiant heroes of all Hellas. Twelve hundred galleys bore the gathered clans across the Ægean, from Aulis to the Trojan shores.

For ten years the Greeks and their allies hold in close siege the city of Priam. On the plains beneath the walls of the capital the warriors of the two armies fight in general battle or contend in single encounter. At first Achilles is foremost in every fight; but a fair-faced maiden, who had fallen to him as a prize, having been taken from him by his chief, Agamemnon, he is filled with wrath and sulks in his tent. Though the Greeks are often sorely pressed, still the angered hero refuses them his aid. At last, however, his friend Patroclus is killed by Hector, eldest son of Priam, and then Achilles

goes forth to avenge his death. In a fierce combat he slays Hector, fastens his body to a chariot, and drags it thrice round the walls of Troy. These later events, beginning with the wrath of Achilles and ending with the funeral rites of Patroclus and Hector, form the subject of the *Iliad* of Homer.

The city was at last taken through a device of the artful Odysseus, and was sacked and burned to the ground. Æneas, with his aged father Anchises and a few devoted followers, escaped, and after long wanderings reached the Italian land and there became the founder of the Roman race.

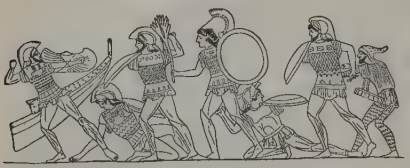


FIG. 79. BATTLE AT THE SHIPS BETWEEN THE GREEKS AND TROJANS. (After a vase painting)

What nucleus of fact is embodied in this, the most elaborate and interesting of the Greek legends, the sequel of our story will disclose.

144. The Home-coming of the Greek Chieftains. After the fall of Troy the Greek chieftains and princes returned home. The legends represent the gods as withdrawing their protection from the hitherto favored heroes, because they had not spared the altars of the Trojans. Consequently many of them were driven in endless wanderings over sea and land. Homer's *Odyssey* portrays the sufferings of the "much-enduring Odysseus," impelled by divine wrath to long journeyings through strange seas.

In some cases, according to the tradition, advantage had been taken of the absence of the princes, and their thrones had been usurped. Thus in Argolis, Ægisthus had won the unholy love of Clytemnestra, wife and queen of Agamemnon, who on his return was murdered by the guilty couple. A tradition current among the Greeks of later times pointed out Mycenæ as the place where the unfortunate king and those slain with him were buried. In pleasing contrast with the disloyalty of the queen of Agamemnon, we have exhibited to us the constancy of Penelope, although sought by many suitors, during the absence of her husband Odysseus.

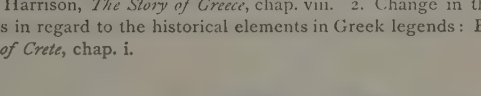
145. The Dorian Invasion, or the Return of the Heraclidæ (legendary date, 1104 B.C.). Legend tells how Heracles in the times before the Trojan War ruled over the Peloponnesian Achæans. Just before that event his children were driven from the land. After a hundred years of exile the descendants of the hero returned at the head of the Dorians from Northern Greece, conquered the greater part of the Peloponnesus, and established themselves as masters in the land that had formerly been ruled by their semidivine ancestor.

The legend connects with this conquest the colonization and settlement by the Greeks of the islands and eastern shore-lands of the Ægean. As we shall see, the tradition doubtless preserves the memory of a great upheaval and shifting of the prehistoric population of peninsular Greece caused by the intrusion of the conquering Dorian race.

Selections from the Sources. THUCYDIDES (Jowett's trans.), i, 4, 8, 10–12 (on Minos, Mycenæ, and the Trojan War). *Iliad* (Bryant's trans.), xviii, 601–762 (the shield of Achilles). *Odyssey* (Palmer's trans.), xxi, xxii (Odysseus and the suitors). There have recently appeared a number of excellent source books on ancient history. One or more of these should be in every high-school library, especially if the library does not contain the original works in translation. For this chapter pertinent selections will be found in Thallon's *Readings in Greek History*, pp. 9–27.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 70–74. HOLM, vol. i, chap. x. BAIKIE, *The Sea-kings of Crete*, chap. i. GAYLEY, *The Classical Myths in English Literature and in Art* (rev. ed., 1911), chaps. xiv–xxiv (gives with illustrative quotation and comment the tales of the older and the younger Greek heroes, including the legends of the Argonauts (pp. 229–233), the Seven against Thebes (pp. 265–268), and the Trojan War (pp. 277–306)).

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Tales of Crete — Minos, Theseus, and Ariadne: Harrison, *The Story of Greece*, chap. viii. 2. Change in the opinion of scholars in regard to the historical elements in Greek legends: Baikie, *The Sea-kings of Crete*, chap. i.



CHAPTER XIII

THE ÆGEAN CIVILIZATION

146. Introduction. In the preceding chapter we saw what embellished tales the Greeks of the historic age told of the foretime in Greece. In the present chapter we shall see what basis of fact some at least of these legends had — what research and excavation have revealed respecting the existence in the Ægean lands of a wonderful civilization which was in its bloom a thousand years and more before

FIG. 80. HISSARLIK, THE PROBABLE SITE OF ANCIENT TROY
(From a photograph)

the opening of recorded Greek history. A closing paragraph will indicate the probable relation of this prehistoric civilization to the brilliant culture of the Greeks of the historic period.

147. Discoveries on the Site of Ancient Troy. The first of the discoveries which have revealed the existence in the Ægean lands of an advanced civilization almost as old as that of Egypt were made by Dr. Schliemann, an enthusiastic student of Homer who believed in the poet as a narrator of actual events. In the year 1870 he began to make excavations in the Troad (at Hissarlik), on a spot pointed out by tradition as the site of ancient Troy. His faith was largely rewarded. He found the upper part of the hill where he carried on his operations to consist of the remains of a succession of nine towns or settlements. In the second stratum from the bottom he found remains of such a character that he was led to believe that they were

the actual memorials of the Troy of the *Iliad*. Besides uncovering massive walls and gateways, he exhumed numerous articles of archaic workmanship in bronze, silver, and gold, including the so-called "Treasure of Priam." Later excavations have proved that not the second city but the sixth city from the bottom was the one whose date, as determined by the relics found, corresponds to that of the Troy of the tradition.

These discoveries have demonstrated that in prehistoric times there really was in the Troad a city which was the stronghold of a rich and

FIG. 81. GRAVE CIRCLE AT MYCENÆ. (After *Tsountas-Manatt*)

powerful royal race, and they afford good ground for the belief that the story of the Trojan War, mixed of course with much mythical matter, embodies the memory of a real prehistoric conflict between the Greeks and the wealthy rulers of the Troy-land. We may reasonably believe that the basis of the power and riches of these rulers was the control which their strategic position at the entrance to the water passage to the Propontis and the Euxine gave them over the trade of those regions[1] — a trade the adventurous character of which is perhaps reflected in the embellished tale of the Argonauts (sect. 142).

[1] Troy in prehistoric times seems to have held the same relation to this northern trade that Byzantium, located at the northern entrance to the Bosphorus, held throughout the classical Greek period, and which Constantinople holds to-day.

148. Discoveries at Mycenæ and Tiryns. Made confident by his wonderful discoveries at Hissarlik, and accepting as historically true those legends of the Greeks which represent Argolis as having in the earliest times nourished a race of powerful rulers, and Mycenæ as having been the burial place of Agamemnon and his murdered companions (sect. 144), Dr. Schliemann began excavations at Mycenæ in the year 1876. He soon unearthed remains of an even more remarkable character than those on the supposed site of Troy. The most interesting of all the discoveries made on the spot were several tombs

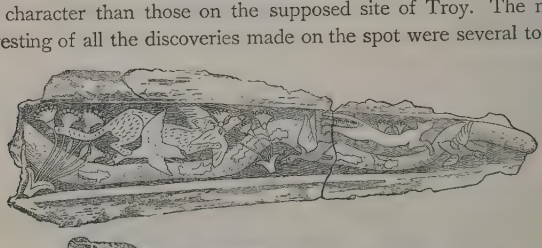


FIG. 82. INLAID SWORD BLADES FOUND AT MYCENÆ

The figures are inlaid on a separate bronze plate which is then set into the blade. The metals used are gold and electron, a natural alloy of gold and silver. Egyptian influence on this Mycenæan art is evident from the design on the upper blade — the cat chasing ducks along a river with lotus plants being a characteristically Egyptian motive

(Fig. 81) holding the remains of nineteen bodies, which were surrounded by an immense number of articles of gold, silver, and bronze — golden masks and breastplates, drinking cups of solid gold, bronze swords inlaid with gold and silver, and personal ornaments of every kind. There was one hundred pounds in weight of gold articles alone. Dr. Schliemann believed that he had actually found the tomb and body of Agamemnon, the leader of the Greeks at Troy. This conclusion of enthusiasm has not been accepted by archæologists; but all are agreed that the ancient legends, in so far as they represent Mycenæ as having been in early pre-Dorian times the seat of an influential and wealthy royal race, rest on a basis of actual fact. In a word,

Schliemann had found, "not, indeed, the tomb of Agamemnon — but the tomb of that Homeric life which Agamemnon represents to us." In the years 1884–1885 Dr. Schliemann made extensive excavations at Tiryns, where he laid bare the foundations of the walls of the ancient citadel and the ruins of an extensive palace like that at Mycenæ.

149. Discoveries in Crete. A quarter of a century after the first of these amazing discoveries in the Troad and in Argolis, Dr. Arthur J. Evans, guided by Greek legends, began excavations at Cnossus in

FIG. 83. GREAT MAGAZINES, OR STOREROOMS, OF THE PALACE AT CNOSSUS

The great terra-cotta jars were for the storing of oil and other provisions. The boxlike receptacles (of which there were a hundred or more) in the floor were probably for the safe-keeping of valuables

the island of Crete. What the spade unearthed here was even more astonishing than what had been uncovered at Troy and Mycenæ. The excavations laid bare the ruins of a prehistoric palace of great extent and magnificence, which had been at least once destroyed and rebuilt. There were evidences that the civilization represented by the remains had been brought to a sudden end by some great catastrophe. The last palace had evidently perished in a vast conflagration, after having been stripped of everything of value. Later excavations on

other ancient sites in Crete brought to light additional memorials of a long-vanished civilization.

150. Character of the Civilization. This island culture, as demonstrated by its remains, was in some respects not at all inferior to the contemporary civilizations of Egypt and Babylonia. The great palace at Cnossus rivaled in magnificence and extent the royal residences of the East. It contained numerous courts, halls, storerooms, royal apartments, and rooms for the humbler folk (potters, stonecutters, goldsmiths, and other artisans) attached to the royal household — all forming such a perfect maze as almost to force the conviction that here we look upon the remains of the veritable Labyrinth of Greek tradition. Frescoes of bull-grapplings in which athletes, both girls and boys, are depicted as seizing the bulls by the horns as they charge and leaping over their backs, and, again, as being gored and tossed by the furious beasts,[1] suggest that these cruel sports — which recall the animal-baitings and gladiatorial games of the Romans — were the actual basis of the Greek tales of the Minotaur and the Athenian tribute of youths and maidens (sect. 140).

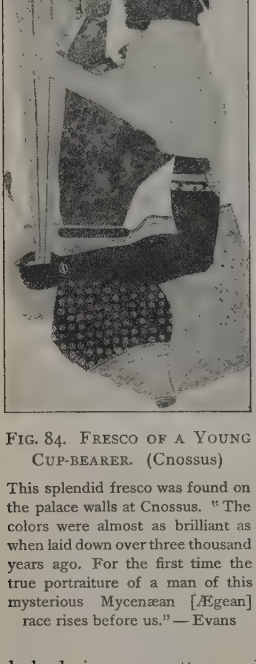


FIG. 84. FRESCO OF A YOUNG CUP-BEARER. (CNOSSUS)

This splendid fresco was found on the palace walls at Cnossus. "The colors were almost as brilliant as when laid down over three thousand years ago. For the first time the true portraiture of a man of this mysterious Mycenæan [Ægean] race rises before us." — Evans

In art work of various kinds the Cretan artists evinced surprising talent. Animal reliefs and paintings, particularly designs on pottery and on gold and silver cups, were characterized by an astonishing vigor and naturalness. Probably we should

[1] Note detail of the scroll at the end of this chapter. This scroll is taken from one of the Vaphio cups (see Plate VIII and accompanying note). The goldsmith artist is

not be wrong in thinking that the picturesque tales of the artist Dædalus (sect. 141), which were current among the Greeks of the earliest historical times, had for their nucleus of fact the supreme excellence of the work of a school of Cretan art which gave the first impulse to the early art of classical Greece.

The numerous representations in the wall-paintings and on vases of ships with both sails and oars confirm the tradition of the nautical interest and maritime activity of the Cretan kings, which is further confirmed by the vases and other objects of Cretan make found in the tombs of almost every ancient people of the Mediterranean lands. Special confirmation of the statements of the Greek historians respecting the sea-power of the kings of Crete is found in the fact that their capital city, Cnossus, was unwalled, which goes to show that they relied for security on their mastery of the sea.

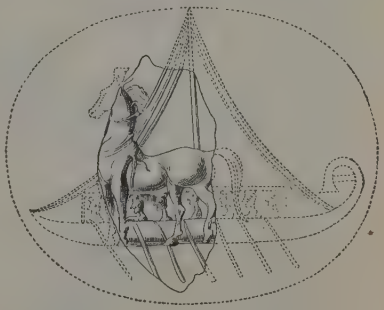


FIG. 85. A CNOSSIAN SEAL IMPRESSION

Possibly a record, as Dr. Evans suggests, of the importation of the horse from Egypt into Crete. It is noteworthy that this appearance of the horse in the records of Cnossus is synchronous with its appearance on the monuments of Egypt at the beginning of the Eighteenth Dynasty (see above, p. 29)

One of the most interesting features of the ruins at Cnossus is the so-called "Theatral Area," a paved space with tiers of seats on two sides for spectators. Some have thought to identify this structure with the "dancing-floor" which Dædalus made for the princess Ariadne (sect. 141). With less hesitation we may regard the structure as the prototype of the classical Greek theater.[1]

An important element in the Minoan civilization was a system of writing, which was developed independently out of a local picture writing, though possibly under Egyptian influence. Thousands of

here evidently portraying the same grisly athletic games as are depicted on the Cnossian frescoes.

[1] C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece* (1911), p. 85.

clay tablets similar to the Babylonian have been found, not a word of which, however, can yet be read. Doubtless they hold an interesting chapter of the early history of the Ægean world.

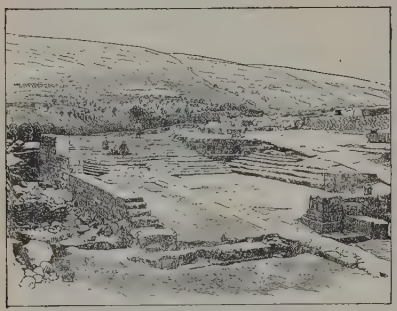


FIG. 86. THEATER AND "DANCING-PLACE" (?) EXCAVATED AT CNOSSUS BY DR. EVANS

"Also did the glorious lame god devise a dancing-place like unto that which once in wide Knosos Daidalos wrought for Ariadne of the lovely tresses." — *Iliad* (tr. Lang and others), xviii, 590–592

151. Origin and Development of Ægean Civilization. Until the key is found to the writing on the Cretan tablets we must rely almost wholly upon the science of archæology for our knowledge of the origin and development of this newly discovered civilization. The broad lines of this evolution from the Stone Age up to the beginning of classical Greek history in the eighth century B.C., as revealed by the architectural remains and cultural objects recovered largely from the soil of Crete, are these: The Ægean islands and coast lands were the arena on which developed the very earliest civilization on European soil. This civilization was

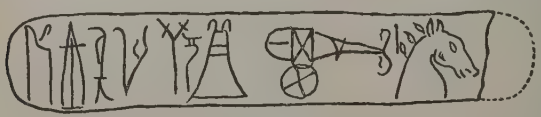


FIG. 87. CRETAN LINEAR TABLET WITH CHARIOT AND HORSE

One of a number of clay labels found by Dr. Evans in the so-called "Room of Chariot Tablets" in the great magazine (Fig. 83) of the palace at Cnossus

in the main an independent development, though it plainly was deeply influenced by the civilizations of the Nile-land and Mesopotamia. The earliest home and the radiating point of this culture was the island of Crete. Its creators and bearers were a non-Greek race

of brunette type. It was chiefly a Bronze Age civilization, which, like that of Egypt, grew directly out of an earlier Neolithic culture, the beginnings of which are lost in the depths of prehistoric times.[1] The metal development began as early at least as 3000 B.C., and was at its height in the island of Crete about 1600 or 1500 B.C. At this period the kings of Cnossus were maintaining a naval supremacy and a political dominion which embraced seemingly many of the Ægean islands, and even parts of the mainland of Greece. Articles of Cretan handiwork found in Egypt point to intercourse with that country as early at least as the Sixth Dynasty (about 2500 B.C.). The memory of this maritime activity and dominion lived on into historic times and was embodied in the Greek legends of the sea power of Minos.

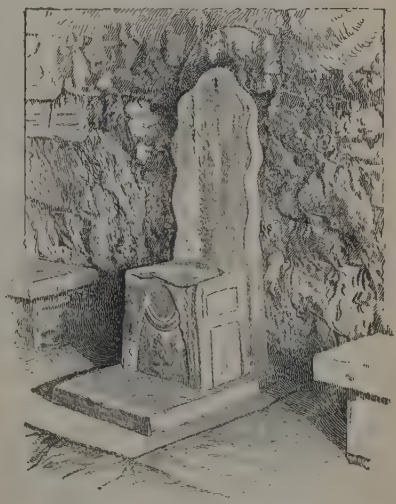


FIG. 88. THE SO-CALLED "THRONE OF MINOS"

Excavated by Dr. Evans in the palace at Cnossus. It is the most ancient throne in Europe. It is carved from alabaster-like stone

Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns were colonies or outposts of the mother cities of Crete, or were centers of culture which developed under Cretan influence. The golden age of these mainland fortress cities was from about 1500 to 1100 B.C.[2]

[1] There are no traces in the island of a Paleolithic stage of culture.

[2] To this civilization the term *Mycenæan* was at first applied, since Mycenæ seemed to be its radiating point; but when the discoveries in Crete showed that island to have been its earliest home, then the name *Minoan*, from *Minos*, was suggested. Recently the term *Ægean* has come into very general use. Sir Arthur Evans, however, uses the term *Minoan* instead of *Ægean*, and divides the whole age (about 3000–1200 B.C.) into three periods, which he names Early Minoan, Middle Minoan, and Late Minoan. Each of these periods he again subdivides into three epochs.

152. Relation of the Ægean to Classical Greek Culture. The generally accepted view respecting the relation of this hitherto unsuspected civilization to the classical culture of Greece may be briefly stated as follows: Not later than 2000 B.C. the ancestors of various Greek tribes, a branch of the great Indo-European peoples, began to move southward from the northern Balkan regions and to press into the Greek peninsula. Chief and first among these intruders were the Achæans. Mingling with the original inhabitants, these newcomers imparted to them their own speech, in a word, Hellenized them, and eventually superseding the native princes ruled in their stead in the great palace fortresses at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and elsewhere. Through the intermingling of the two races arose the brilliant "Achæan" civilization (about 1500–1100 B.C.), the glories of which were sung by the Homeric bards.

Then, probably as early as the thirteenth or twelfth century B.C., the Achæans, together with Ionians and other Greek folk who by this time had drifted into Greece from the north, began to migrate from the western to the eastern shore of the Ægean. Achæans and Æolians from Thessaly settled the island of Lesbos and the northwestern shore of Asia Minor, the latter folk giving name to the district — *Æolis*. The coast south of these settlements — the *Ionia* of the historic period — was settled by Ionians from Attica and Argolis. In the blood of all these emigrants there was doubtless a deep strain of the native Ægean population of Greece. It was probably this prehistoric colonization movement which brought on the memorable struggle between the Greeks and the rulers of the Troy-land (sect. 143).

Soon after the destruction of Troy by the Achæans and their allies there came into Greece from the north another wave of invasion (about 1100 or 1000 B.C.), which spent its force in the Peloponnesus.[1] These new intruders were chiefly Dorians, an iron-using folk. They were less cultured than their Achæan kinsmen, and apparently destroyed utterly the strongholds of the Achæan princes. This Dorian invasion appears to have given a fresh impulse to the

[1] A dim memory of this invasion and conquest is doubtless embodied in the legend of the Return of the Heraclidæ (sect. 145).

migration movement from peninsular Greece to the eastern shores of the Ægean. Hard pressed or dispossessed peoples, pushing across the waters, found new homes among their kinsmen already established in Æolis and Ionia. The Dorians, having conquered and colonized Crete and Rhodes, formed new settlements all along the southwestern shores of Asia Minor, creating the *Doris* of history.

On the Asian shores, in Ionia and Æolis and upon the neighboring isles, the fires of culture on new altars burned afresh. The torch of culture lighted two thousand years before in Crete was here held aloft. In continental Greece, however, the light of civilization was almost extinguished. The Dorian conquest had ushered in here those "Dark Ages" which cover the three centuries and more lying between the bright Achæan Age and the opening of the truly historic age of Hellas.

As the golden Achæan Age had its poet in Homer, so did these "Dark Ages" have their poet in Hesiod, — the first great Greek poet of flesh and blood, — the spokesman of the common folk in this evil age of iron.[1] Yet it was in this dark period of which Hesiod is the representative that, through the fusion and intermingling of races and cultures, the Greece of history was born. There is a striking and instructive parallel between these "Dark Ages" of Greek story and the "Dark Ages" of later European history. For just as in this later period two races, the Latin and the Teuton, and two cultures, the refined civilization of Rome and the ruder culture of the Teutonic tribes, mingled to form modern Europe, so in the early history of the Ægean lands two races, the Ægean and the Hellenic, and two cultures, the advanced Ægean civilization and the primitive culture of the Greek tribes, mingled to form the brilliant civilization of classical Hellas. Thus "the Golden Age of Crete was the forerunner of the Golden Age of Greece, and hence of all our western culture."[2]

[1] See sect. 337.

[2] C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete, the Forerunner of Greece* (1911), p. 2. The discovery of the long-lost Ægean civilization has given new significance not only to several of the Greek legends narrated in the preceding chapter, but also to an alleged Egyptian tradition of "the lost Atlantis" — a tale preserved in the *Timæus* and the *Critias* of Plato. The essential part of Plato's narrative runs as follows: "The Athenian Solon

References. SCHLIEMANN, *Troy and its Remains* (1875); *Mycenæ* (1878); *Ilios* (1881); *Troja* (1884); and *Tiryns* (1885). For an admirable summary of all these works of Dr. Schliemann's and a scholarly estimate of the historical import of his discoveries, see SCHUCHHARDT, *Schliemann's Excavations*. DIEHL, *Excursions in Greece* (an account of the results of excavations at Mycenæ, Tiryns, and on other sites in Greece). GARDNER, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chaps. i–v (compares the Greek legends with recent archæological discoveries and discusses the question whether or not these discoveries may be regarded as a verification in any degree of the legends).

(sect. 200) returning from a visit to Egypt brought back a tale of a lost island-empire, a tale so wonderful that if Solon had made poetry the business of his life and had completed the story he would have been as famous as Homer or Hesiod. This old-world story was told to Solon in the city of Sais in the Egyptian Delta. Solon had asked the priests something about antiquity, and made the discovery that neither he nor any other Hellene knew anything worth mentioning about ancient times. For when he tried to impress the priests by talking about ancient things, one of them exclaimed, 'O Solon, you Hellenes are nothing but children,' and then related the following story: 'There was an island called Atlantis situated in front of the Pillars of Hercules. The island was larger than Libya and Asia put together, and was the way to other islands and to a continent beyond. Now in this island there was a great and wonderful empire which had rule over the whole island, and several others and over parts of the continent. And these men of Atlantis had harbors and docks which were full of triremes and stores of every kind. The kings possessed a fleet of 1200 ships, and the royal palace which they built in the center of the island was ornamented by successive generations until it became a marvel to behold for size and beauty. And there were bulls which the kings hunted without weapons but with staves and nooses. This vast power had subjected all the parts of Libya within the Pillars of Hercules as far as Egypt, and of Europe as far as Tyrrhenia, and then it endeavored to subdue at a blow our country and yours, and the whole of the region within the straits; and then, Solon, your country shone forth. She preserved from slavery those who were not yet subjugated, and generously liberated all the rest of us. But afterwards there occurred violent earthquakes and floods, and the island of Atlantis disappeared in the depths of the sea.'"

This story of the lost Atlantis has been variously interpreted. It has been pronounced by some a pure creation of Plato's imagination, while others have seen in it a confused memory of a real past. As we have said, the recent discoveries in Crete give the narrative a new significance. The nucleus of the story may very well have been the Egyptian recollection, much distorted of course, of the great empire of the kings of Cnossus. James Baikie (*The Sea-kings of Crete* (1913), p. 258) says: "The only difficulty in accepting the identification [of Plato's Atlantis with the island of Crete] is that it is stated that the lost Atlantis lay beyond the Pillars of Hercules; but doubtless this statement is due to Solon's misinterpretation of what was said by his Egyptian informant, or to the Saite priest's endeavor to accommodate his ancient tradition to the wider geographical knowledge of his own time. . . . Almost certainly, then, Plato's story gives the Saite version of the actual Egyptian records of the greatness and the final disaster of the great island state, with which Egypt so long maintained intercourse. Doubtless to the men of the latter part of the Eighteenth Dynasty the sudden blotting out of Minoan trade and influence by the overthrow of Cnossus seemed as strange and mysterious as though Crete had actually been swallowed up by the sea."

PLATE VIII. THE VAPHIO CUPS AND THEIR SCROLLS. (Cups from photographs; the scrolls drawn from facsimiles of the cups)

Found in a tomb at Vaphio, near Sparta, in 1889. "The finest product of the goldsmith's art left to our wondering eyes by the Achæan civilization of Greece." — Rufus B. Richardson

Tsountas and Manatt, *The Mycenæan Age.* Hall, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece.* Ridgeway, *The Early Age of Greece*, 2 vols. All the works thus far cited were written before the chief discoveries in the island of Crete, and the opinions and conclusions of their authors must be tested and corrected by the revelations made since the opening of the present century by the excavations at Cnossus and elsewhere. The following more recent works summarize and interpret the new discoveries: Hall, *Ægean Archæology*; Mosso, *The Palaces of Crete*; Baikie, *The Sea-kings of Crete*; Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology*, chap. i.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Summary of the excavations: Hall, *Ægean Archæology*, chap. ii. 2. The palace at Cnossus: Mosso, *The Palaces of Crete*, chaps. iv, v. 3. Bull-grappling: Mosso, *The Palaces of Crete*, chap. xi. 4. Ægean art: Mosso, *The Palaces of Crete*, chap. xiii; Hall, *Ægean Archæology*, chap. vii; Reinach, *Apollo* (rev. ed.), pp. 30–36; Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology*, chap. i. 5. Early intercourse between Crete and Egypt: Baikie, *The Sea-kings of Crete*, chap. vii. 6. A day in Troy: Manatt, *Ægean Days*, chap. xxiv.

CHAPTER XIV

THE HERITAGE OF THE HISTORIC GREEKS

153. A Rich and Mixed Heritage. The Greeks when they appeared in history, in the eighth century B.C., were the bearers of an already advanced culture. They possessed well-developed political and religious institutions, a wonderfully copious language, a rich and varied mythology, an unrivaled epic literature, and an art which, though immature, was yet full of promise.

This was indeed a rich heritage. We now know that it was a mixed inheritance. It was in part a transmission from their own foretime, and in part a legacy from that earlier Ægean civilization depicted in the preceding chapter. There were mingled in it also elements derived directly from oriental cultures. But all these non-Hellenic racial and cultural contributions had before historic times received the deep impress of the Hellenic spirit. This will become evident as we now proceed to examine somewhat in detail this heritage of the historic Hellenes, and note how different a product it is from anything we have found before. We shall be convinced that the chief factor, after all, in the wonderful thing we call Greek civilization was the Greek genius itself — a genius born of the union of two gifted races.

I. POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS

154. The City-State; its Elements — the Clan, the Phratry, and the Tribe. The light that falls upon Greece in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. shows most of Greece proper, the shore-lands of Asia Minor, and many of the Ægean islands filled with cities. Respecting

the nature of these cities we must say a word, for it is with them — with cities — that Greek history has to do.

In the first place, each of these cities was an independent community, like a modern nation. It was a city-state. It made war and peace and held diplomatic relations with its neighbors. Its citizens were aliens in every other city.

In the second place, these city-states were, as we think of independent states, very small.[1] So far as we know, no city in Greece proper, save Athens, ever had over twenty thousand arm-bearing citizens. In most cases each consisted of nothing more than a single walled town with a little encircling zone of farming and pasture land. Sometimes, however, the city-state embraced, besides the central town, a large number of smaller places. Thus the city-state of Athens, in historic times, included all Attica with its hundred or more villages and settlements. In most other cases, however, the outlying villages, if any, were so close to the walled town that all their inhabitants, in the event of a sudden raid by enemies, could get to the city gates in one or two hours at most.

In the third place, each of these early cities was made up of groups — clans,[2] phratries or brotherhoods (groups of closely united families), and tribes — which were a survival from the tribal age of the Greeks, the age before they began to live in cities. It was at first only members of these groups who enjoyed the rights of citizenship.[3]

[1] There is a limit, Aristotle argued, to the size of a city as there is to the size of a plant, an animal, or a ship. It should be large enough, he maintained, to be self-sufficing, and yet not too large to be well governed. In order that the government might be good he thought that the city should be small enough to enable each citizen to know all his fellow-citizens.

[2] The clan was simply the expanded family; for in primitive society the family as it expands holds together, being united by the worship of ancestors or of domestic divinities, whereas in advanced society as it expands it disintegrates, the several households no longer living together, but each usually going its own way. This forms a fundamental difference between primitive and modern society.

[3] It was only after a long lapse of time that the ties which bound together these primitive groups became relaxed, largely through a change in the religious beliefs of men, and that the way was thus paved for the entrance of strangers into the city. This great revolution, the greatest that ever took place in the society of antiquity, was already in progress, both in Italy and in Greece, at the opening of the historical period, and resulted finally in making property and residence instead of birth and worship the basis of civil and political rights and privileges. (See below, p. 184, n. 1.)

In the beginning, that is, in the Achæan or Homeric Age, these cities were ruled by hereditary kings. But because these Greek cities were at first city-kingdoms, we must not think that they were like the early city-kingdoms we found in Babylonia and other lands of the Orient. In the oriental city the power of the priest-king was absolute; the people were his servile subjects. In the Greek city the authority of the king was limited; the people were, in some measure at least, self-governed. In a word, the Greek city contained the germs of a political constitution. It was a vital organism with powers of growth. Into what it grew we shall see as we follow particularly the history of the typical Greek city of Athens.

155. The Influence of the City upon Greek History. We cannot understand Greek history unless we get at the outset a clear idea of the feelings of a Greek towards the city of which he was a member. It was the body in which he lived, moved, and had his being. It was his country, his fatherland, for which he lived and for which he died. Exile from his native city was to him a fate scarcely less dreaded than death. This devotion of the Greek to his city was the sentiment which corresponds to patriotism amongst us, but, being a narrower as well as a religious feeling, it was much more intense.

It was this strong city feeling among the Greeks which prevented them from ever uniting to form a single nation. The history of Greece from first to last is, in general, the history of a great number of independent cities wearing one another out with their never-ending disputes and wars arising from a thousand and one petty causes of rivalry, jealousy, and hatred. It is the history of modern Europe in miniature.

But it was this very thing that made life in the Greek cities so intense and strenuous, and that developed so wonderfully the faculties of the Greek citizen. In the eager atmosphere of the *agora* human talents were fostered as plants are forced in the growing air of a conservatory. Hence there arose in the Hellenic cities a rich and many-sided culture (within their walls art and literature and philosophy developed forms and systems of supreme excellence), which became the precious legacy of Greece to the world at large. In a word, Greek civilization was the flower and fruitage of the city-state.

II. RELIGIOUS IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS

156. Ideas of the Greeks regarding the System of the Universe. Forming another important element of the inheritance of the historic Greeks were their religious ideas and institutions. In speaking of these we shall begin with a word respecting their ideas in regard to the system of the universe.

The early Greeks supposed the earth to be, as it appears, a plane, oval or circular in form like a shield. Around it flowed the "mighty strength of the ocean river," a stream broad and deep, on the further side of which lay realms of Cimmerian darkness and terror. The heavens were a solid vault, or dome, the edge of which shut down close upon the earth. Beneath the earth, reached by subterranean passages, was the realm of Hades, a vast region, the place of departed souls.[1] Still beneath this was the prison Tartarus, a pit deep and dark, made fast by strong gates of brass and iron.

THE WORLD ACCORDING TO HOMER

The sun was an archer god, borne in a fiery chariot up and down the steep pathway of the skies. Naturally it was imagined that the regions in the extreme east and west, which were bathed in the near splendors of the sunrise and the sunset, were lands of delight

[1] Erebus, in the Homeric mythology, was a gloomy intermediate region between the earth and Hades.

and plenty. The eastern region was the favored country of the Ethiopians, a land which even Zeus himself so loved to visit that often he was found absent from Olympus when sought by suppliants. In the western region, adjoining the ocean stream, were the Isles of the Blest (Elysium), the abodes of the shades of heroes and poets.

157. The Olympian Council. At the head of the Greek pantheon there was a council of twelve members, comprising six gods and as many goddesses. The male deities usually included were Zeus, the father of gods and men; Poseidon, ruler of the sea; Apollo, the god of light, of music, and of prophecy; Ares, the god of war; Hephæstus, the deformed god of fire, and the forger of the thunderbolts of Zeus; and Hermes, the wind-god, the swift-footed herald of the celestials, the inventor of the pipe and the lyre — "for the wind whistles and sings."

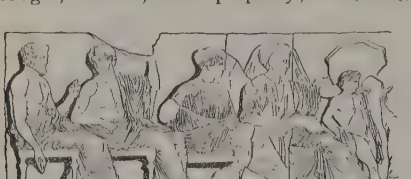


FIG. 89. GROUP OF GODS AND GODDESSES. (From the frieze of the Parthenon)

"The chief gods, in striking contrast with the monstrous divinities of the oriental mythologies, had been molded by the fine Hellenic imagination into human forms of surpassing beauty and grace"

The female divinities were Hera, the proud and jealous queen of Zeus; Athena, or Pallas, — who sprang full-grown from the forehead of Zeus, — the goddess of wisdom and the patroness of the domestic arts; Artemis, the goddess of the chase; Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, born of the white sea foam; Hestia, the goddess of the hearth; and Demeter,[1] the earth-mother, the goddess of grains and harvests.[2]

[1] The cult or worship of Demeter and Persephone was connected with the Eleusinian mysteries celebrated at Eleusis in Attica. These secrets were so carefully guarded that to this day it is not known what they really were. It seems, however, that the hopeful doctrine of a future life more real and satisfying than that represented by the popular religion was taught, or at least suggested, by the symbolism of the mysteries, and that the initiated were helped thereby to live better and happier lives.

[2] Besides the great gods and goddesses that constituted the Olympian Council, there was an almost infinite number of other deities, celestial personages, and monsters neither

These great deities were simply magnified human beings. They give way to fits of anger and jealousy. All the celestial council, at the sight of Hephæstus limping across the palace floor, burst into "inextinguishable laughter"; and Aphrodite, weeping, moves all to tears. They surpass mortals rather in power than in size of body. They can render themselves visible or invisible to human eyes. Their food is ambrosia and nectar; their movements are swift as light. They may suffer pain; but death can never come to them, for they are immortal. Their abode is Mount Olympus and the airy regions above the earth.

FIG. 90. THE CARRYING OFF OF PERSEPHONE BY HADES TO THE UNDERWORLD; HER LEAVE-TAKING OF HER MOTHER DEMETER. (After a vase painting)

In accordance with the animistic ideas of primitive man, the souls of plants were thought to descend to the underworld in the winter and to return to the upper world in the spring. Out of this conception grew the beautiful myth of Demeter and Persephone, who as goddesses of the corn came to be personifications of the yearly death and revival of vegetation, and then by analogy as symbols (in the Eleusinian mysteries) of man's renewed life after death

158. The Delphic Oracle and its Influence on Greek Life and History. The most precious part, perhaps, of the religious heritage of the historic Greeks from the misty Hellenic foretime was the oracle of Apollo at Delphi.

The Greeks believed that in the early ages the gods were wont to visit the earth and mingle with men. But even in Homer's time this

human nor divine. Hades ruled over the lower realms; Dionysus was the god of wine; Eros, of love; Iris was the goddess of the rainbow, and the special messenger of Zeus; Hebe (goddess) was the cupbearer of the celestials; the goddess Nemesis was the punisher of crime, and particularly the queller of the proud and arrogant; Æolus was the ruler of the winds, which he confined in a cave secured by mighty gates. There were nine Muses, inspirers of art and song. The Nymphs were beautiful maidens, who peopled the woods, the fields, the rivers, the lakes, and the ocean. Three Fates allotted life and death, and three Furies (Eumenides, or Erinyes) avenged crime, especially murder and sacrilegious crimes. Besides these there were the Centaurs, the Cyclopes, the Harpies, the Gorgons, and a thousand others.

familiar intercourse was a thing of the past — a tradition of a golden age that had passed away. In historic times, though the gods often revealed their will and intentions through signs and portents, still they granted a more special communication of counsel through what were known as *oracles*. These communications, it was believed, were made sometimes by Zeus,[1] but more commonly by Apollo. Not everywhere, but only in chosen places, did these gods manifest their presence and communicate the divine will. These favored spots were called *oracles*, as were also the responses there received.

FIG. 91. APOLLO

The most renowned of the Greek oracles, as we have intimated, was that at Delphi, in Phocis. Here, from a deep fissure in the rocks, arose stupefying vapors, which were thought to be the inspiring breath of Apollo. Over this spot was erected a temple in honor of the Revealer. The communication was generally received by the Pythia, or priestess, seated upon a tripod placed above the orifice. As she became overpowered by the vapors, she uttered the message of the god. These mutterings of the Pythia were taken down by attendant priests and put in verse. Sometimes the divine will was communicated to the pious seeker by dreams and visions granted him while sleeping in the temple of the oracle.

Some of the responses of the oracle contained plain and wholesome advice; but many of them, particularly those that implied a knowledge of the future, were made obscure and given a double meaning, so that they would correspond with the event however affairs might turn.[2]

[1] The oracle of Zeus of widest repute was that at Dodona, in Epirus, where the priests listened for the voice of the god in the rustling leaves of the sacred oak.

[2] Thus Crœsus at the time he made war on Cyrus (sect. 102) was told in response to his inquiry that if he undertook the war he would destroy a great empire. He did, indeed, — but the empire was his own.

The oracle of Delphi gained a celebrity wide as the world; it was often consulted by the monarchs of Asia and the people of Rome in times of extreme danger and perplexity. Among the Greeks scarcely any undertaking was entered upon without the will and sanction of the oracle being first sought.

Especially true was this in the founding of colonies. Apollo was believed "to take delight in the founding of new cities." No colony, it was believed, could prosper that had not been established with the sanction or under the superintendence of the Delphic god.[1]

The Delphian oracle, furthermore, exerted a profound influence upon Hellenic unity. Delphi was, in some respects, such a religious center of Hellas as papal Rome was of mediæval Europe. It was the common altar of the Greek race. By thus providing a worship open to all, Delphi drew together by bonds of religious sentiment and fraternity the numberless communities of Greece, and created, if not a political, at least a religious, union that embraced the entire Hellenic world.[2]

FIG. 92. GREEK RUNNERS

159. The Olympic Games. Another of the most characteristic of the religious institutions of the Greeks which they inherited from prehistoric times was the sacred games celebrated at Olympia in Elis, in honor of the Olympian Zeus. The origin of this festival is lost in the obscurity of tradition; but by the opening of the eighth century B.C. it had assumed national importance. In 776 B.C. a contestant named Coræbus was victor in the foot race at Olympia, and as from that time the names of the victors were carefully registered, that

[1] The managers of the oracle, doubtless through the visitors to the shrine, kept themselves informed respecting the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean, and thus were able to give good advice to those contemplating the founding of a new settlement.

[2] For an illustration of the influence of the oracle upon Greek morality, read the story of Glaucus (Herodotus, vi, 86).

year came to be used by the Greeks as the starting point in their chronology. The games were held every fourth year, and the interval between two successive festivals was known as an Olympiad.[1]

To the foot-race, which at first was the only contest, were gradually added boxing, wrestling, spear-throwing, and other athletic games. Later, chariot-racing was introduced, and became the most popular of all the contests. The competitors must be of Hellenic race; must have undergone special training in the gymnasium; and must, moreover, be unblemished by any crime against the state or sin against the gods. Spectators from all parts of the world crowded to the festival.

FIG. 93. RACING WITH FOUR-HORSE CHARIOTS. (From a vase painting of the fifth century B.C.)

The victor was crowned with a garland of sacred olive; heralds proclaimed his name abroad; his native city received him as a conqueror, sometimes through a breach made in the city walls; statues of him, executed by eminent artists, were erected at Olympia and in his own city; sometimes even divine honor and worship were accorded to him; and poets and orators vied with the artist in perpetuating his name and triumphs as the name and triumphs of one who had reflected immortal honor upon his native state.

160. The Pythian, the Nemean, and the Isthmian Games. Besides the Olympic games there were transmitted from prehistoric times the germs at least of three other national festivals. These were the Pythian, held in honor of Apollo, near his shrine and oracle at Delphi; the Nemean, celebrated in honor of Zeus, at Nemea, in Argolis; and the Isthmian, observed in honor of Poseidon, on the Isthmus of Corinth. Just when these festivals had their beginnings it is impossible to say, but by the time the historic period had fairly opened,

[1] The date of an occurrence was given by saying that it happened in the first, second, third, or fourth year of the first, second, or third, etc. Olympiad. This mode of designating dates, however, did not come into general use in Greece before the third century B.C.

that is to say, by the sixth century B.C., they had lost their local and assumed a national character, and were henceforth to be prominent features of the common life of the Greek cities. As the gods were believed to take delight in these exhibitions of strength and skill, the presentation of them was a religious duty — a Greek mode of worship.

161. Influence of the Grecian Games. For more than a thousand years these national festivals, particularly those celebrated at Olympia, exerted an immense influence upon the social, religious, and literary life of Hellas. They enkindled among the widely scattered Hellenic states and colonies a common literary taste and enthusiasm; for into all the four great festivals, save the Olympic, were introduced, sooner or later, contests in poetry, oratory, and history. During the festivals, poets and historians read their choicest productions, and artists exhibited their masterpieces. The extraordinary honors accorded to the victors stimulated the contestants to the utmost, and strung to the highest tension every power of body and mind.

Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art (sect. 324). "Without the Olympic games," says Holm, "we should never have had Greek sculpture."

Moreover, they promoted intercourse and trade; for the festivals naturally became great centers of traffic and exchange during the progress of the games. They softened, too, the manners of the people, turning their thoughts from martial exploits and giving the states respite from war; for during the season in which the religious games were held it was sacrilegious to engage in military expeditions.

They tended also to keep alive common Hellenic feelings and sentiments. In all these ways, though they never drew the states into a real political union, still they did impress a common character upon their social, intellectual, and religious life.[1]

162. The Amphictyonic Council. Closely connected with the religious festivals were the so-called Amphictyonies, or "leagues of neighbors," which formed another important part of the bequest

[1] By the third century B.C. the games had degenerated and lost much of their original religious character. The Olympic games, having been suspended since the fourth century of our era, were revived, with an international character, in 1896, at Athens.

from the legendary age to historic Greece. These were associations of a number of cities or tribes for the celebration of religious rites at some shrine, or for the protection of some particular temple.

Preëminent among such unions was that known as the Delphic Amphictyony, or simply The Amphictyony. This was a league of twelve of the subtribes of Hellas, whose main object was the protection of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. Another of its purposes was, by humane regulations, to mitigate the cruelties of war. The following oath was taken by the members of the league: "We will not destroy any Amphictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water, in war or in peace; if any one shall do so, we will march against him and destroy his city." This was one of the first steps taken in the practice of international law.

The Amphictyons waged in behalf of the Delphic god Apollo a number of crusades, or sacred wars. The first of these occurred at the opening of the sixth century B.C. (probably about 595–586), and was carried on against the Phocian towns of Crissa and Cirrha,[1] whose inhabitants had been guilty of annoying the pilgrims on their way to the shrine. The cities were finally taken and leveled to the ground. Their territory was also consecrated to the gods, which meant that it was never thereafter to be ploughed or planted, or in any way devoted to secular use.

163. Doctrine of Divine Jealousy. Several religious or semi-religious ideas, which were a bequest to the historic Greeks from primitive times, colored so deeply all their conceptions of life, and supplied them so often with motives of action, that we must not fail to take notice of them here. Two of these ideas related to the envious disposition of the gods and the nature of the life in the hereafter.

The Greeks were impressed, as all peoples and generations have been, with the mutations of fortune and the vicissitudes of human life. Their observation and experience had taught them that long-continued good fortune and unusual prosperity often issue at last in sudden and overwhelming calamity. They attributed this to the jealousy of the gods, who, they imagined, were envious of mortals

[1] Cirrha was the seaport of Crissa.

that through such prosperity seemed to have become too much like themselves. Thus the Greeks believed the downfall of Crœsus, after his extraordinary course of uninterrupted prosperity, to have been brought about by the envy of the celestials, and they colored the story to bear out this version of the matter.

Later, as the moral feelings of the Greeks became truer, they put a different interpretation upon the facts. They said that the downfall of the great was due not to the *envy* of the gods, but to their righteous *indignation*, aroused by the insolence and presumptuous pride engendered by overgreat prosperity.

164. Ideas of the Future. To the Greeks life here on earth was so bright and joyous a thing that they looked upon death as a great calamity. Moreover, they pictured life after death, except in the case of a favored few, as being hopeless and aimless.[1] The Elysian Fields, away in the land of sunset, were, indeed, filled with every delight; but these were the abode only of the great heroes and benefactors of the race. The great mass of mankind were doomed to Hades, where the spirit existed as "a feeble, joyless phantom."[2] So long as the body remained unburied, the shade wandered without rest; hence the sacredness of the rites of sepulture.

III. LANGUAGE, MYTHOLOGY, LITERATURE, AND ART

165. The Greek Language. One of the most wonderful things which the Greeks brought out of their dim foretime was their language. At the beginning of the historic period their language was already one of the richest and most perfectly elaborated languages ever spoken by human lips. Through what number of centuries this language was taking form upon the lips of the forefathers of the historic Greeks, we can only vaguely imagine. It certainly bears testimony to a long period of Hellenic life lying behind the historic age in Hellas.

[1] Homer makes the shade of the great Achilles in Hades to say:

"I would be
A laborer on earth and serve for hire
Some man of mean estate, who makes scant cheer,
Rather than reign o'er all who have gone down
To death." — *Odyssey*, xi, 489–490 (Bryant's trans.)

[2] Cf. sects. 56, 89.

166. The Mythology of the Greeks. Another wonderful possession of the Greeks when they first appeared in history was their mythology. All races in the earlier stages of their development are myth-makers, but no race has ever created such a rich and beautiful mythology as did the ancient Greeks, and this for the reason that no other race was ever endowed with so fertile and lively an imagination.

This mythology exercised a great influence upon the life and thought of the ancient Greeks. Their religion, their poetry, their

FIG. 94. BATTLE BETWEEN GREEKS AND AMAZONS. (From a sarcophagus of about 300 B.C.)

The whole mythology was pictured on vases or carved in marble

art, and their history were one and all deeply impressed by this wonderful collection of legends and myths. Some of these stories inspired religious feeling; some afforded themes to the epic and tragic poets; others suggested subjects to the sculptor and the painter; and still others inspired the actors in Greek history to many an heroic deed or adventurous undertaking.

167. Early Greek Literature: the Homeric Poems. The rich and flexible language of the Greeks had already in prehistoric times been wrought into epic poems whose beauty and perfection are unequaled by the similar productions of any other people. These epics transmitted from the Greek foretime are known as the Homeric poems (the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*), to which reference has already been made.

Neither the exact date nor the authorship of the Homeric poems is known (sect. 336). That they were the prized possession of the Greeks at the beginning of the historical period is all that it is important for us to note here. They were a sort of Bible to the Greeks, and exercised an incalculable influence not only upon the religious but also upon the literary life of the entire Hellenic world.

168. Early Greek Art. In the field of art the heritage of historic Greece from the legendary age consisted rather in a certain inherited instinct or feeling for the beautiful than in acquired skill. "The Homeric poetry was, indeed," says Professor Jebb, "instinct with the promises of Hellenic art. Such qualities of poetical thought, such forms of language, announced a race from which great artists might be expected to spring."[1]

This prophecy we shall see passing into fulfillment in the ideal perfection of the art of Phidias and Praxiteles.

Selections from the Sources. *Iliad* (Bryant's trans.), ii, 1-490 (council of the chiefs and assembly of the people). Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 3-9; Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 65-73, 90-97; Fling's *Source Book of Greek History*, pp. 22, 41-53.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vol. ii, p. 1-111. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 164-194; vol. iii, pp. 276-297. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. i, xi, xix. BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 65-73. COULANGES, *The Ancient City*, bks. i-iii. FOWLER, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. i-iii. DIEHL, *Excursions in Greece*, chap. vii (on the Grecian games). SEYMOUR, *Life in the Homeric Age*.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Delphi and the oracle: Richardson, *Vacation Days in Greece*, pp. 24-33. 2. The Olympic Festival: Gardiner, *Greek Athletic Sports and Festivals*, chap. ix; Percy Gardner, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. ix. 3. Gymnastics: Blümner, *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. viii. 4. Demeter and Persephone, and the Eleusinian mysteries: Frazer, *Spirit of the Corn and of the Wild* (The Golden Bough), vol. i, chap. ii; Fairbanks, *Mythology of Greece and Rome*, chap. vi, pp. 171-183; Gayley, *Classic Myths* (consult index). 5. The Greek doctrine of "divine envy." Consult Herodotus (Rawlinson's trans.) by index under "Crœsus," "Polycrates," and "Artabanus."

[1] "When the Hellenes created the Epos, they were already Greeks, i.e. the chosen people of poetry and art." PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *History of Art in Primitive Greece*, vol. i, p. 7

CHAPTER XV

EARLY SPARTA AND THE PELOPONNESIAN LEAGUE

169. Situation of Sparta. Sparta was one of the cities of the Peloponnesus which owed their origin or importance to the Dorian Invasion (sect. 145). It was situated in the deep valley of the Eurotas, in Laconia, and took its name Sparta (sown land) from the circumstance that it was built upon tillable ground, whereas the heart and center of most Greek cities consisted of a lofty rock (the citadel, or acropolis). But Sparta needed no citadel. Her situation, surrounded as she was by almost impassable mountain barriers, and far removed from the sea, was her sufficient defense. Indeed, the Spartans seem to have thought it unnecessary even to erect a wall round their city, which stood open on every side until late and degenerate times. And events justified this feeling of security. So difficult of access to an enemy is the valley, that during more than four hundred years of Spartan history the waters of the Eurotas never once reflected the camp fires of an invading army.

170. Classes in the Spartan State. The population of Laconia was divided into three classes — Spartans, Perioeci, and Helots. The Spartans proper were the descendants of the conquerors of the country, and were Dorian in race and language.[1] They formed but a small fraction of the entire population, at no period numbering more than ten thousand men capable of bearing arms.

The Perioeci (dwellers around), who constituted the second class, were probably the subjected pre-Dorian inhabitants of the land — a mixed Ægean-Achæan population. They are said to have outnumbered the Spartans three to one. They were allowed to retain possession of their lands, but were forced to pay tribute-rent, and in times of war to follow the lead of their Spartan masters.

[1] The Spartans are believed to have had less of the blood of the pre-Hellenic inhabitants of Greece in their veins than any others of the historic Greeks.

The third and lowest class was composed of slaves, or serfs, called Helots. The larger number of these were laborers upon the estates of the Spartans. They were the property of the state, and not of the individual Spartan lords, among whom they were distributed by lot.

These Helots had practically no rights which their Spartan masters felt bound to respect. It is affirmed that when they grew too numerous for the safety of the state, their numbers were thinned by a

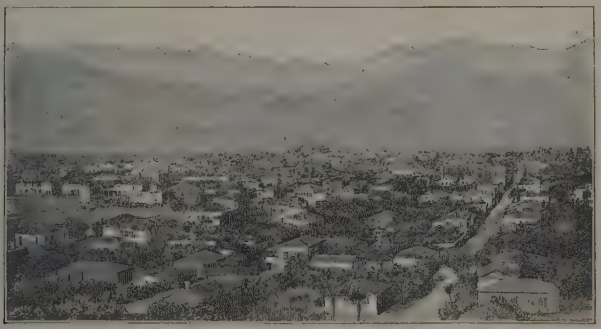


FIG. 95. SPARTA, WITH THE RANGES OF THE TAYGETUS IN THE BACKGROUND
(From a photograph)

deliberate massacre of the surplus population.[1] The Ephors (sect. 172), when they took office, proclaimed war against the Helots, in order that it might be lawful to kill them. The young Spartans, if we may believe our authorities, were required to go out at night and kill any Helots they came across. Often they would range about the fields and make away with the strongest and bravest they could find.[2]

[1] "Once, when they [the Spartans] were afraid of the number and vigor of the Helot youth, this was what they did: They proclaimed that a selection would be made of those Helots who claimed to have rendered the best service to the Lacedæmonians in war, and promised them liberty. The announcement was intended to test them; it was thought that those among them who were foremost in asserting their freedom would be most high-spirited, and most likely to rise against their masters. So they selected about two thousand, who were crowned with garlands and went in procession round the temples; they were supposed to have received their liberty; but not long afterwards the Spartans put them all out of the way, and no man knew how any one of them came by his end." — THUCYDIDES, iv, 80 (Jowett's trans.)

[2] Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, xvii.

171. The Legend of Lycurgus. Of the history of Sparta before the first Olympiad we have no certain knowledge. Peace, prosperity, and rapid growth, according to tradition, were secured through the adoption of a most remarkable political constitution framed by a great lawgiver named Lycurgus.[1]

Legend represents Lycurgus as having fitted himself for his great work through an acquaintance, by converse with priests and sages, with the laws and institutions of different lands. He is said to have studied with zeal the laws of Minos, the legendary lawgiver of Crete, — a tradition which doubtless reflects the fact that the Spartan laws were deeply influenced by those of Crete,[2] — and to have become, like the legislator Moses, learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians.

Upon the return of Lycurgus to Sparta — we still follow the tradition — his learning and wisdom soon made him the leader of a strong party. After much opposition a system of laws and regulations drawn up by him was adopted by the Spartan people. Then, binding his countrymen by a solemn oath that they would carefully observe his laws during his absence, he went into an unknown exile.

It is probable that Lycurgus was a real person and that he had something to do with shaping the Spartan constitution. But circumstances, doubtless, were in the main the real creator of the peculiar political institutions of Sparta — the circumstances that surrounded a small band of conquerors in the midst of a large and subject population. Sparta was a camp, and its laws and usages were the laws and usages of a camp.

172. The Spartan Constitution: the Kings; the Senate; the General Assembly; and the Ephors. The so-called constitution of Lycurgus provided for two joint kings, a Senate of Elders, a General Assembly, and a sort of executive board composed of five persons called Ephors.

The two kings corresponded in some respects to the two consuls of republican Rome. One served as a check upon the other. This

[1] The date of Lycurgus falls somewhere in the ninth century B.C., probably near its close.

[2] Thucydides (ii, 10) says that the Spartan constitution was probably very largely a copy of the Cretan.

double sovereignty worked admirably; for five centuries there was no successful attempt on the part of a Spartan king to subvert the constitution. The power of the joint kings, it should be added, came to be rather nominal than real, except in time of war. And this, according to Plutarch, saved them; losing the odium of absolute power, he says, they escaped being dethroned.

The Senate consisted of twenty-eight elders. The two coördinate kings were also members, thus raising the number to thirty. The duties of the body seem to have been both of a judicial and a legislative character. No one could become a senator until he had reached the age of sixty.

The General Assembly was composed of all the citizens of Sparta over thirty years of age. By this body laws were made and questions of peace and war decided; but nothing could be brought before it save such matters as the Senate had previously decided might be entertained by it. In striking contrast to the custom at Athens, all matters were decided without general debate, only the magistrates and persons specially invited being allowed to address the assemblage. The Spartans were fighters, not talkers; they hated windy discussion.

The board of Ephors was composed, as we have noticed, of five persons, elected in some way not known to us. This body gradually drew to itself many of the powers and functions of the Senate, as well as much of the authority of the associate kings.

173. Regulations as to Land, Trade, and Money. Plutarch says that Lycurgus, seeing that the lands had fallen largely into the hands of the rich, made a general redistribution of them, allotting an equal portion to each of the nine thousand Spartan citizens, and a smaller and less desirable portion to each of the thirty thousand Perioeci. It is not probable that there ever was such an exact division of landed property. The Spartan theory, it is true, seems to have been that every free man should possess a farm large enough to support him without work, so that he might give himself wholly to his duties as a citizen; but as a matter of fact there existed, at certain periods at least, great inequality in landed possessions among the Spartans. In the fourth century, according to Plutarch, not more than one hundred

of the citizens held any land at all. The historian Eduard Meyer ventures the opinion that had the land been divided rationally and the subject population made equal with the Spartans, Sparta would have become the strongest state in Hellas, and might have united all.

The Spartans were forbidden to go outside the country without permission, to engage in commerce, or to pursue any trade; all their time must be passed in the chase, or in gymnastic and martial exercises. Iron was made the sole money of the state. This money, as described by Plutarch, was so heavy in proportion to its value that the amount needed to make a trifling purchase required a yoke of oxen to draw it. The object of Lycurgus in instituting such a currency was, we are told, to prevent its being used for the purchase of worthless foreign stuff.[1] Of like purpose was another regulation, which required that the timbers of the roof of every house should be worked only with the ax and the doors with the saw alone. This was to discourage ambitious display.

174. The Common Tables. The most peculiar, perhaps, of the Spartan institutions were their common meals. In order to correct the extravagance with which the tables of the rich were often spread, Lycurgus is said to have ordered that all the citizens should eat at public and common tables. This was their custom, but Lycurgus could have had nothing to do with instituting it. It was part of their military life.

Every citizen was required to contribute to these common meals a certain amount of flour, fruit, game, or pieces from the sacrifices; if any one failed to pay his contribution, he was degraded and disfranchised. Excepting the Ephors, none, not even the kings, was excused from sitting at the common mess. One of the kings, returning from an expedition, presumed to dine privately with his wife, but received therefor a severe reproof.

1 The real truth about this iron money is simply this: the conservative, nontrading Spartans retained longer than the other Grecian states the use of a primitive medium of exchange. Gold and silver money was not introduced into Sparta until about the close of the fifth century B. C., when the great expansion of her interests rendered a change in her money system absolutely necessary. In attributing the establishment of the early currency to Lycurgus the Spartans simply did in this case just what they did in regard to their other usages.

A luxury-loving Athenian once visited Sparta, and, seeing the coarse fare of the citizens, which seems to have consisted in the main of a black broth, is reported to have declared that now he understood the Spartan disregard of life in battle: "Any one," said he, "must naturally prefer death to life on such fare as this."

175. Education of the Youth. Children at Sparta were regarded as belonging to the state. Every male infant was brought before the Council of Elders, and if it did not seem likely to become a robust and useful citizen, was condemned to be exposed in a mountain glen. At seven the education and training of the youth were committed to the charge of public officers, called boy-trainers. The aim of the entire course was to make a nation of soldiers who should contemn toil and danger and prefer death to military dishonor.

The mind was cultivated only so far as might contribute to the main object of the system. The art of rhetoric was despised. Only martial poems were recited — poems that warmed the blood and stirred to deeds worthy of record. The Spartans had a profound contempt for the subtleties and literary acquirements of the Athenians. Spartan brevity was a proverb, whence our word *laconic* (from *Laconia*), meaning a concise and pithy mode of expression. Boys were taught to respond in the fewest words possible. At the public tables they were not permitted to speak until questioned; they sat "silent as statues." As Plutarch puts it, "Lycurgus was for having the money bulky, heavy, and of little value; and the language, on the contrary, very pithy and short, and a great deal of sense compressed in a few words." Wordy persons, he adds, seldom say anything worth remembering.

But while the mind was neglected, the body was carefully trained. In running, leaping, wrestling, and hurling the spear the Spartans acquired the most surprising nimbleness and dexterity. At the Olympic games Spartan champions more frequently than any others bore off the prizes of victory.

But before all things else was the Spartan youth taught to bear pain unflinchingly. He was inured to the cold of winter by being forced to pass through that season with only the light dress of summer. His bed was a bundle of river reeds. Sometimes he was

placed before the altar of Artemis and scourged just to accustom him to bear pain bravely. Frequently the whipping was so severe as to cause death. Plutarch says that he himself had seen many boys die under the scourge.

Another custom tended to the same end as the foregoing usage. The boys were at times compelled to forage for their food. If one was caught, he was severely punished for having been so clumsy as not to get safely away with his booty. This custom, as well as the fortitude of Spartan youth, is familiar to all through the story of the boy who, having stolen a young fox and concealed it beneath his tunic, allowed the animal to tear out his vitals without betraying himself by the movement of a muscle.

That the laws and regulations of the Spartan constitution were admirably adapted to the end in view — the rearing of a nation of skillful and resolute warriors — the long military supremacy of Sparta among the states of Greece abundantly attests.

176. The Spartan Conquest of Messenia. The most important event in Spartan history between the age of Lycurgus and the commencement of the Persian wars was the long contest with Messenia, known as the First and Second Messenian wars (about 743–723 and 645–631 B.C.).

Messenia was one of those districts of the Peloponnesus which, like Laconia, had been taken possession of by Dorian bands at the time of the great invasion. It was the most pleasant and fertile of all the Peloponnesian districts which fell into the hands of the Dorians. Here the intruding Dorians, contrary to what was the case in Laconia, had mingled with the native population to form a new mixed race.

The outcome of the protracted struggle just referred to was the defeat of the Messenians and their reduction to the hard and bitter condition of the Helots of Laconia. According to tradition the Spartans owed in part their final victory to a poet named Tyrtæus, who, at a critical period of the war, reanimated their drooping spirits by his inspiring war songs.

At the end of each of the two wars, many of the better class of the Messenians, preferring exile to servitude, fled beyond the seas to

Ionia or to Italy in search of new homes. Some of the fugitives conquered for themselves a place in Sicily and gave name and importance to the still existing city of Messana (Messina), on the Sicilian straits.

Thus Sparta secured possession of Messenia. From the end of the Second Messenian War on to the decline of the Spartan power in the fourth century B.C., the Messenians were the serfs of the Spartans. All the southern part of the Peloponnesus was now Spartan territory.

177. Sparta becomes Head of a Peloponnesian League. After Sparta had secured possession of Messenia, her influence and power advanced steadily until her leadership was acknowledged by all the other states of the Peloponnesus save Argos[1] and the cities of Achæa. The virtual management of the Olympic games, at Olympia, in Elis, was in her hands. Through these national festivals her name and fame were spread throughout all Hellas. She now, as head of a Peloponnesian league, began to be looked to even by the Greek cities beyond the Peloponnesus as the natural leader and champion of the Greeks.

Having now traced in brief outline the rise of Sparta to supremacy in the Peloponnesus, we must turn aside to take a wider look over Hellas, in order to note an expansion movement of the Hellenic race which resulted in the establishment of Hellenes upon almost every shore of the then known world.

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Lycurgus*. THUCYDIDES (Jowett's trans.), i, 10, 18 (beginning of each section). Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 87–112; Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 103–111; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 54–75.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 175–275. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 259–377. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. vi–viii. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. xv–xvii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Early Grecian History*, chaps. viii, xi. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chaps. vii, viii. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. iii.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Argos and King Pheidon: Holm, vol. i, chap. xvii, pp. 202–208; Bury, *History of Greece*, chap. iii, pp. 139–144. 2. The Helots of Laconia: Thucydides, iv, 80; Plutarch, *Lycurgus*, xxvii; Grote, vol. ii, chap. vi, pp. 291–298.

[1] Argos was a Dorian city in Argolis which, under her celebrated king Pheidon, held, before the supremacy of Sparta, the leadership in the Peloponnesus.

CHAPTER XVI

THE AGE OF COLONIZATION AND OF TYRANNIES

I. THE AGE OF COLONIZATION (About 750–600 B.C.)

178. Causes of Greek Colonization. The latter half of the eighth and the seventh century B.C. constituted a period in Greek history marked by great activity in the establishment of colonies. This expansion movement of the Greek race forms an important chapter not only in Hellenic but also in general history.

The inciting causes of Greek colonization at the period named[1] were various. One was the growth in wealth of the cities of the homeland[2] and the consequent expansion of their trade and commerce. This development had created an eager desire for wealth, and had given birth to a spirit of mercantile enterprise. Thousands were ready to take part in any undertaking which seemed to offer a chance for adventure or to open a way to the quick acquisition of riches.

Another motive of emigration was supplied by the political unrest which at this time filled almost all the cities of Greece. The growth within their walls of a wealthy trading class, who naturally desired to have a part in the government, brought this order in conflict with the oligarchs, who in most of the cities at this time held in their hands all political authority. The resulting contentions, issuing in the triumph now of this party and now of that, or perhaps in the rise of a tyrant whose rule often bore heavily on all orders alike, created a large discontented class, who were ready to undergo the privations attending the founding of new homes in remote lands if only thereby they might secure freer conditions of life.

[1] We are not concerned in the present chapter with the earlier emigration from continental Greece to the islands and eastern shore-lands of the Ægean (sect. 152).

[2] By the *homeland*, as we here use the term, we mean the western shore of Asia Minor, the islands of the Ægean, and Greece proper.

GREECE
AND THE
GREEK COLONIES
0 50 100 200 300 400 500
Scale of Miles.
Ionian
Dorian
Other Greek Races
Phœnician Settlements
LIGURES
Agathe
Massalia
Olbia
Rhodae
Emporiae
Zacynthus
Hemeroskopion
Artemisia
BALEARIC ISLES
CORSICA
Alalia
SARDINIA
Caralis
Gades
Thapsus
Hippo
Leptis
Kerchedon (Carthage)
Cyme
Neapolis
Posidonia
Heraclea
Thurii
Panormus
Egesta
Motye
Selinus
Acragas
Himera
Messana
SICILY
Gela
Catana
Leontini
Syracus
Ancon
Pharos
Corcyra
ADRIATIC
TYRRHENIAN SEA
MEDITERR
8 4 0 4 8 12 16
48 44 40 32 28

20
24
28
32
36
40
48
44
40
36
32
28
Tanais
Olbia
Lake Maiotis
Pantikapaion
Tauric Chersonesus
Phanagoria
Heraclea Chersonesus
CAUCASUS M.
Pitycus
Dioscurias
Phasis
Istros
Kallatis
Odessos
Mesambria
Apollonia
EUXINE SEA
Sinope
Kerasous
Trapezus
Kotyora
PAPHLAGONIA
Heraclea
BITHYNIA
Byzantium
Chalcedon
Perinthus
Cyzicus
Cius
Abydos
Ilios or Troy
Lissos
Epidamnus (Dyrrhachium)
Apollonia
MACEDONIA
Chalcidice
Olynthus
Dodona
Thessalonica
Ambracia
Ethiopia
Ithaca
Delphi
Corinth
Achaia
Sparta
Melos
Thera
Delos
Naxos
Chios
Samos
Ephesus
Miletus
Cnidus
Rhodes
Sardis
Smyrna
PHRYGIA
CAPPADOCIA
CILICIA
Selinus
Cyprus
Arados
Sidon
Tyre
PHOENICIA
Cydonia
Onossus
CRETE
EAN SEA
Cyrene
Barca
Cyrenaica
Naucratis
EGYPT
RED SEA

Other motives blended with those already mentioned. There was the restless Greek spirit, the Greek love of adventure, which doubtless impelled many of the young and ardent to embark in the undertakings. To this class especially did Sicily and the other little-known lands of the West present a peculiar attraction.

To all these inciting causes of the great emigration must be added the aggressions of Sparta upon her neighbors in the Peloponnesus. We have already seen that many of the Messenians, at the end of their first and again at the close of their second unsuccessful struggle with Sparta, joined the emigrants who just then were setting out for the colonies in the western seas (sect. 176).

179. Relation of a Greek Colony to its Mother City. The history of the Greek colonies would be unintelligible without an understanding of the relation in which a Greek colony stood to the city sending out the emigrants. There was a fundamental difference between Greek colonization and Roman. The Roman colony was subject to the authority of the mother city. The emigrants remained citizens or semicitizens of Rome. The Greek colony, on the other hand, was, in almost all cases, wholly independent of its parent city. The Greek mind could not entertain the idea of one city as rightly ruling over another, even though that other were her own daughter colony.[1]

But while there were no political bonds uniting the mother city and her daughter colonies, still the colonies were attached to their parent country by ties of kinship, of culture, and of filial piety. The sacred fire on the altar of the new home was kindled from embers piously borne by the emigrants from the public hearth of the mother city, and testified constantly that the citizens of the two cities were members of the same though a divided family. Thus by the ties of religion were the mother and the daughter city naturally drawn into close sympathy.

[1] Besides these independent colonies, however, which were united to the mother city by the ties of friendship and reverence alone, there was another class of colonies known as *cleruchies*. The settlers in these did not lose their rights of citizenship in the mother city, which retained full control of their affairs. Such settlements, however, were more properly garrisons than colonies, and were few in number compared with the independent communities. Athens had a number of such colonies.

The feeling that the colonists entertained for their mother country is shown by the names which they often gave to the prominent objects in and about their new home. Just as the affectionate memory of the homes from which they had gone out prompted the New England colonists to reproduce in the new land the names of places and objects dear to them in the old, so did the cherished remembrance of the land they had left lead the Greek emigrants to give to the streets and temples and fountains and hills of their new city the familiar and endeared names of the old home. The new city was simply "a home away from home."

180. The Condition of the Mediterranean World Favorable to the Colonizing Movement. The Mediterranean lands were at this time, say during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., in a most favorable state for this colonizing movement of the Greeks. The cities of Phœnicia, the great rivals of the Greeks in maritime enterprise, had been crippled by successive blows from the Assyrian kings, who just now were pushing out their empire to the Mediterranean. This laming of the mercantile activity of Tyre and Sidon left their trade and that of their colonies a prey to the Greeks. It should be noticed, however, that after the decline of the cities of Phœnicia, the Phœnician colony of Carthage on the African shore gradually grew into a new center of Semitic trade and colonizing activity, and practically shut the Greeks out of the greater part of the Mediterranean lying west of Sicily.

Another circumstance was favorable to Greek colonization. The shores of the Mediterranean were at this time, speaking broadly, unoccupied. The great kingdoms of later times, Lydia, Persia, Macedonia, and Rome, had not yet arisen, or were still inland powers, and indifferent respecting the coast lands; while the barbarian tribes whose territories bordered upon the sea of course attached no special value to the harbors and commercial sites along their coasts. But these peoples were advancing in culture and were beginning to feel a desire for the manufactures of foreign lands, and consequently had a strong motive for welcoming the Greek traders to their shores. So between the indifference of the Greeks respecting the hinterlands, and the indifference of the barbarians respecting

the shore-lands, the Greek settlements in general became what an old writer said of Massalia (sect. 186), "a fringe of Greece clinging to the lands of the barbarians."

181. The Chalcidian Colonies (about 750–650 B.C.). An early colonizing ground of the Greeks was the Macedonian coast. Here a triple promontory juts far out into the Ægean. On this broken shore Chalcis of Eubœa, with the help of emigrants from other cities, founded so many colonies — thirty-two owned her as their mother city — that the land became known as Chalcidice.[1]

One of the chief attractions of this shore to the Greek colonists was the rich copper, silver, and gold deposits. The immense slag heaps found there to-day bear witness to the former importance of the mining industry of the region. The hills, too, were clothed with heavy forests which furnished excellent timber for shipbuilding, and this was an important item in the trade of the Chalcidian colonies, since in many parts of Greece timber was scarce.

The Chalcidian colonies exercised a very important influence upon the course and development of Greek history. Through them it was, in large measure, that the inland tribes of Macedonia, particularly the ruling class, became so deeply tinged with Hellenic culture.[2] It was this circumstance which, as we shall learn, gave special historical significance to the Macedonian conquests of later times, making them, as it did, something more than the mere destructive forays of barbarians.

182. Colonies on the Hellespont, the Propontis, and the Bosphorus. A second region full of attractions to the colonists of the enterprising commercial cities of the mother country was that embracing the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, together with the connecting sheet of water known to the Greeks as the Propontis — "the vestibule of the Pontus." These water channels, forming as they do the gateway to the northern world, early drew the attention of the Greek traders.

[1] Potidæa, however, one of the most important cities in Chalcidice, was a colony of Corinth.

[2] Thus the colony of Stagira became the birthplace of the great philosopher Aristotle, who, through his father's relation as physician to the Macedonian court, was selected as the tutor of the prince Alexander (sect. 278).

Here was founded, among other cities, Byzantium (658 B.C.). The city was built, under the special direction of the Delphic oracle, on one of the most magnificent sites for a great emporium that the ancient world afforded. It was destined to a long and checkered history.

183. Colonies in the Euxine Region. The tale of the Argonauts (sect. 142) shows that in prehistoric times the Greeks probably carried on trade with the shores of the Euxine. The chief products of the region were fish, grain, and cattle, besides timber, gold, copper, and iron.

The fisheries formed the basis of a very active and important trade. The fish markets of the Ionian cities of European Greece and of Asia Minor, in which fish formed a chief article of diet among the poorer classes, were supplied in large measure by the products of these northern fisheries. So large was the trade in wheat and other cereals that we may call this Black Sea region the granary of Greece in the same sense that North Africa and Egypt were in later times called the granary of Rome.

Still another object of commerce in the Euxine was slaves, one of the "first necessaries" of Greek life.[1] This region was a sort of slave-hunters' land — the Africa of Hellas. It supplied to a great degree the slave markets of the Hellenic world. In the modern Caucasian slave trade of the Mohammedan sultans we may recognize a survival of a commerce which was active twenty-five hundred years ago.

Eighty colonies in the region of the Euxine are said to have owned Miletus as their mother city. The coast of the sea became so crowded with Greek cities, and the whole region was so astir with Greek enterprise, that the Greeks came to regard this quarter of the world, once looked upon as so remote and inhospitable, as almost a part of the home country. When the Ten Thousand Greeks on their memorable retreat sighted, from the mountains of Armenia, the waters of the Pontus, they seemed to feel that they were already home (sect. 265).

1 "For those commodities which are the first necessaries of existence, cattle and slaves, are confessedly supplied by the districts around the Pontus in greater profusion and in better quality than any other" (Polybius, iv, 38). Along with these "necessaries" Polybius names honey, wax, and salt-fish as "luxuries."

184. Colonies on the Ionian Islands and the Adjacent Shores. At the same time that the tide of migration was flowing towards the north it was also flowing towards the west and covering with a deposit of Greek population the Ionian Islands and the coasts of southern Italy and Sicily.

The group of islands lying off the western coast of Greece, known as the Ionian Isles, together with the adjacent continental shores,

MAGNA GRÆCIA AND SICILY

formed an important region of Greek colonization. Corinth, as was natural from her position, took a prominent part in the establishment of colonies here. One of the most important of her settlements was Corcyra. The relations of this colony to its mother city was very unfilial, and a quarrel between them was one of the immediate causes of the Peloponnesian War (sect. 249).

The colonies on the Ionian Islands were the halfway station to Italy, and it was by the way of these settlements that Italy during the era of colonization received a large and steady stream of immigrants.

185. Colonies in Southern Italy: Magna Græcia. At this time Italy, with the exception of Etruria on the western coast, was occupied by tribes that had made but little progress in culture. The power of Rome had not yet risen. Hence the land was practically open to settlement by any superior or enterprising race.

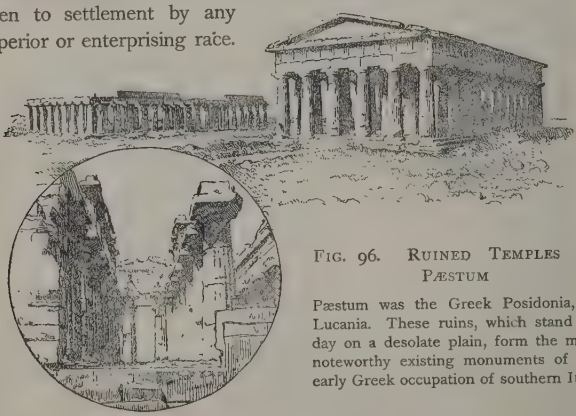


FIG. 96. RUINED TEMPLES AT PÆSTUM

Pæstum was the Greek Posidonia, in Lucania. These ruins, which stand today on a desolate plain, form the most noteworthy existing monuments of the early Greek occupation of southern Italy

Consequently it is not surprising that during the Greek colonizing era southern Italy became so thickly set with Greek cities as to become known as *Magna Græcia* (Great Greece). Here were founded during the latter part of the eighth century B.C. the important city of Taras, the Tarentum of the Romans (708 B.C.); the Æolian city of Sybaris (721 B.C.), noted for the luxurious life of its citizens, whence our term *Sybarite*, meaning a voluptuary;[1] the great Croton (711 B.C.), distinguished for its schools of philosophy and its victors in the Olympic games; and Rhegium (about 715 B.C.), the mother of statesmen, historians, poets, and artists.

[1] "It was the habit, he [Plutarch] tells us, at Sybaris, to send out invitations with a year's notice, in order that the ladies might have time to prepare a splendid toilet." — MAHAFFY, *The Silver Age of the Greek World*, p. 384

Upon the western coast of the peninsula was the city of Cumæ (Cyme), famed throughout the ancient world for its oracle and sibyl. This was probably the oldest Greek colony in Italy. Near Cyme was Neapolis, "the new city" (Naples), probably a colony of Cyme, situated on one of the most picturesque bays in Europe. All this shore was the scene of cultured Greek life and activity long before Rome was anything more than a cluster of rude hill-villages.

The chief importance of the cities of Magna Græcia for civilization springs from their relations to Rome. Through them, without doubt, the early Romans received many primary elements of culture, deriving thence probably their knowledge of letters as well as of Greek constitutional law.

186. Greek Colonies in Sicily and Southern Gaul. The island of Sicily is in easy sight from the Italian shore. About the same time that the southern part of the peninsula was being filled with Greek colonists, this island was also receiving a swarm of immigrants. Here was planted by the Dorian Corinth the city of Syracuse (734 B.C.), which, before Rome had become great, waged war on equal terms with Carthage. Upon the southern shore of the island arose Acragas (Agrigentum), "the fairest of the cities of men," which became, after Syracuse, the most important of the Greek cities in Sicily.

Sicily was the most disorderly and tumultuous part of Hellas. It was the "wild West" of the Hellenic world. It was the land of romance and adventure, and seems to have drawn to itself the most untamed and venturesome spirits among the Greeks. To the grounds of disorder and strife existing among the Greek colonists themselves were added two other elements of discord — the native barbarians and the Phœnicians.

That part of Gaul which touches the Mediterranean where the Rhone empties into the sea was another region occupied by Greek colonists. Here were established several colonies, chief among which was Massalia (about 600 B.C.), the modern Marseilles. It is from the advent of these Greek colonists, rather than from the passage of the Alps by the Roman legions centuries later, that we must date the beginnings of civilization in southern Gaul. The Romans in those parts built upon foundations laid by the Greeks.

187. Colonies in North Africa and Egypt: Cyrene and Naucratis. In the seventh century B.C. the Greeks, in obedience to the commands of the Delphian Apollo, founded on the African coast, nearly opposite the island of Crete, the important colony of Cyrene, which became the metropolis of a large district known as Cyrenaica. The site of the city was one of the best on the African shore. The rain was so abundant that the region was characterized as "the place where the sky leaks." The climate has changed greatly since the Greek period.

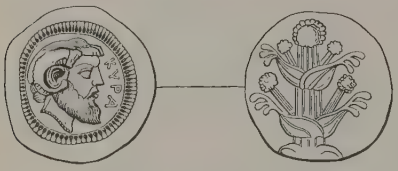


FIG. 97. COIN OF CYRENE

In the Nile Delta the Greeks early established the important station of Naucratis. This colony was at the height of its prosperity in the sixth century B.C., although it certainly existed as early as the beginning of the seventh century. It was the gateway through which Hellenic influences passed into Egypt and Egyptian influences passed out into Greece.

188. Place of the Colonies in Grecian History. The history of dispersed Hellas is closely interwoven with that of continental Hellas. In truth, a large part of the history of Greece would be unintelligible should we lose sight of Greater Greece, just as a large part of the history of Europe since the seventeenth century cannot be understood without a knowledge of Greater Europe. In colonial interests, rivalries, and jealousies we shall find the inciting cause of many of the contentions and wars between the cities of the homeland.

FIG. 98. COIN OF CORINTH

Indeed, in its influence upon the social and intellectual development of mankind, the colonization movement which we have been tracing

may well be compared to that expansion of the English race which has established peoples of English speech and culture in so many lands and upon so many shores of both the Old and the New World. The Greek colonies were the outposts and radiating centers of Greek civilization. Through them at many points of the Mediterranean world, as in southern Gaul, southern Italy, Macedonia, and Thrace, Hellenic culture filtered into and quickened into a higher life the neighboring barbarism.

II. THE TYRANNIES (About 650–500 B.C.)

189. The Character and Origin of the Greek Tyrannies. The latter part of the period of Greek colonization corresponds very nearly to what has been called the "Earlier Age of the Tyrants,"[1] of whom a word must here be said.

In the heroic age pictured in the Homeric poems the preferred form of government among the Greeks was a patriarchal monarchy. The *Iliad* (ii, 203–206) says, "The rule of many is not a good thing: let us have one ruler only, — one king, — him to whom Zeus has given the scepter." But by the dawn of the historic period, the patriarchal monarchies of the Achæan Age had given place, in almost all the Grecian cities, to oligarchies or aristocracies. A little later, just as the Homeric monarchies had been superseded by oligarchies, so were these in many of the Greek cities superseded by tyrannies.

By the term *tyrannos* (tyrant) the Greeks did not mean one who ruled harshly, but simply one who held the supreme authority in the state illegally. Some of the Greek tyrants were beneficent rulers, though too often they were all that the name implies among us. Sparta was almost the only important state which did not at one time or another fall into the hands of a tyrant.

The causes that in so many cities led to the overthrow of oligarchic rule and the establishment of government by a single person were

[1] For a hundred years after the expulsion of the tyrants from Athens (sect. 203) there were no tyrants in Greece proper, and for a great part of this time there were no tyrants anywhere in the Greek world. In the fourth century B.C. tyrants arose again, particularly in Sicily. This distribution in time of these rulers leads some historians to divide the tyrannies into an earlier and a later age.

various. A main cause, however, of the rise of tyrannies is found in the misrule of the oligarchs, into whose hands the royal authority of earlier times had passed. By their selfish, cruel, and arbitrary administration of the government, they provoked the revolt of the people and invited destruction. The factions, too, into which they were divided weakened their authority and paved the way for their fall.

Working with the above causes to undermine the influence of the oligarchs, was the advance in intelligence and wealth of the trading classes in the mercantile and commercial states of Greece, especially in the Ionian cities, and their resulting discontent with the oppressive rule of the aristocratic families and desire to participate in the government.

Generally the person setting up a tyranny was some ambitious disappointed member of the aristocracy, who had held himself out as the champion of the people, and who, aided by them, had succeeded in overturning the hated government of the oligarchs.

190. The Greek Feeling towards the Tyrants. The tyrants sat upon unstable thrones. The Greeks, always lovers of freedom, had an inextinguishable hatred of these despots.[1] Furthermore, the odious vices and atrocious crimes of some of them caused the whole class to be regarded with the utmost abhorrence — so much so that tyrannicide (that is, the killing of a tyrant) came to be regarded by the Greeks as a supremely virtuous act. The slayer of a tyrant was looked upon as a devoted patriot and preëminent hero (sect. 203).

Consequently the tyrannies were, as a rule, short-lived, rarely lasting longer than three generations. They were usually violently overthrown, and democracies set up in their place, or the old oligarchies reëstablished. Speaking broadly, the Dorian cities preferred aristocratic government, and the Ionian cities democratic.

Sparta, which state, as has been noted, never fell into the hands of a tyrant, was very active in aiding those cities that had been so unfortunate as to have their government usurped by despots to drive

[1] A Greek writer voices this feeling as follows: "The mere word 'tyrant' involves the idea of everything that is wickedest, and includes every injustice and crime possible to mankind." — Polybius, ii, 59

out the usurpers and to reëstablish their aristocratic constitutions.[1] Athens, as we shall see, on escaping from the tyranny under which she for a time rested, became the representative and the ardent champion of democracy.

191. A Typical Tyrant: Periander of Corinth (625–585 B.C.). To repeat in detail the traditional accounts of all the tyrants that arose in the different cities of Hellas during the age of the tyrannies would be both wearisome and unprofitable; wearisome because the tales of the various despots possess a singular sameness, and unprofitable because these stories are often manifestly colored and distorted by popular prejudice and hatred, since the Greeks of a later time could hardly speak temperately of a tyrant, so unutterably odious to them was even the name itself. We shall therefore here simply give in brief form the story of two or three of these unconstitutional rulers, who may be taken as fair representatives of their class.

Among the most noted of the tyrants was Periander of Corinth (625–585 B.C.). According to Herodotus, Periander learned from Thrasybulus, tyrant of Miletus, the art of playing the tyrant safely. He sent a messenger to that despot to ask him the best way to conduct his government. Thrasybulus is said to have conducted the envoy to a field of grain, and, as they walked through it, to have broken off and thrown away such heads as lifted themselves above the others. Then, without a word, he dismissed the messenger. The man, returning to Periander, reported that he had been able to secure from Thrasybulus not a single word of advice, but told how singularly he had acted in destroying the best of his crop of grain. Periander understood the parable, and straightway began to destroy all those citizens whose heads overtopped the others.

Periander maintained a court which rivaled in splendor that of an oriental potentate. Like many another tyrant, he was a generous patron of artists and literary men.

[1] Her aim in this policy was to strengthen her own influence in these cities by preserving in them institutions like her own, and by keeping the control of their public affairs in the hands of a few families who should be under the necessity of looking to her for the support of their authority.

192. Polycrates, Tyrant of Samos (535–522 B.C.). Another tyrant whose deeds were noised throughout the Hellenic world, and the vicissitudes of whose career left a deep impression upon the Greek imagination, was Polycrates of Samos.

Polycrates established his rule in Samos in the way so common with the tyrants — by overturning through violence the government of his own order, the oligarchs. Having made Samos his stronghold, Polycrates conquered many of the surrounding islands in the Ægean, together with several of the cities of the Asian mainland, and made himself the head of a maritime empire, which he maintained with a fleet that was the largest any Greek state had up to that time collected.

Like Periander, Polycrates maintained a magnificent court, to which he invited, among other persons of fame and learning, the celebrated lyric poet Anacreon, a native of Ionia, who seems to have enjoyed to the full the gay and easy life of a courtier, and who, inspired by the congenial atmosphere of his patron's palace, sang so voluptuously of love and wine and festivity that the term *Anacreontic* has come to be used to characterize all poetry overredolent of these themes.

The astonishing good fortune and uninterrupted prosperity of Periander awakened, according to Herodotus, the alarm of his friend and ally, Amasis, king of Egypt, who became convinced that such felicity in the lot of a mortal must awaken the envy of the gods (sect. 163), and accordingly broke off his alliance with him.

The issue justified the worst fears of Amasis. Polycrates was lured to the Asian shore by a Persian satrap, a bitter enemy of his, and put to a shameful and cruel death.

193. Benefits Conferred by the Tyrants upon Greek Civilization. The rule of the tyrants conferred upon Greek civilization some benefits which, perhaps, could not have been so well secured under any other form of government.

Thus the tyrants, through the connections which they naturally formed with foreign kings and despots, broke the isolation in which the Greek cities up to this time had lived. Pheidon of Argos — a tyrant of the better class — was in close relations with the Lydian

kings; and Polycrates, as we have seen, was the friend and ally of Amasis, king of Egypt. These connections between the courts of the tyrants and those of the rulers of oriental countries opened the cities of the Hellenic world to the influences of those lands of culture, widened their horizon, and enlarged the sphere of their commercial enterprise.

Again, the tyrants, some of them at least, as, for example, Periander of Corinth, Polycrates of Samos, and Pisistratus of Athens, were liberal patrons of art and literature. Poetry and music flourished in the congenial atmosphere of their luxurious courts, while architecture was given a great impulse by the public buildings and works which many of them undertook with a view of embellishing their capitals, or of winning the favor of the poorer classes by creating opportunities for their employment. Thus it happened that the age of the tyrants was a period marked by an unusually rapid advance of many of the Greek cities in their artistic, intellectual, and industrial life.

In the political realm also the tyrants rendered eminent services to Greece. By depressing the oligarchies and lifting the people, they created a sort of political equality between these rival orders of society, and thereby helped to pave the way for the incoming of democracy. They were also active in the establishment of colonies, and so gave a great impulse to that expansion movement of the Greek race which meant so much for Greek civilization.

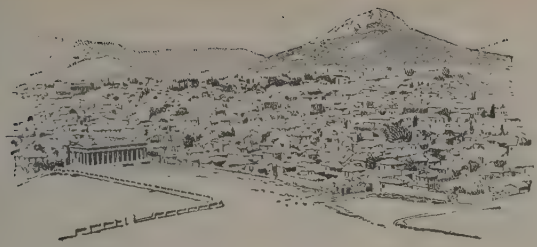
In still another way — in the way implied in Emerson's adage to the effect that bad kings help us, if only they are bad enough — did the tyrants render a great service to the cause of constitutional government in the Greek cities. As we have seen, they rendered rule by a single person unrestrained by law inexpressibly odious to the Greeks, and thus deepened their love for constitutional government and made them extremely watchful of their freedom. The bare suspicion that any person was scheming to make himself a tyrant was often enough to insure his immediate expulsion from the city or the infliction of some worse punishment.

Selections from the Sources. HERODOTUS, iv, 150–153, 156–159 (on the part taken by the Delphic oracle in the founding of Cyrene). Thallon's *Readings*, chaps. ii, iv; Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 99–102, 114–117.

References (Modern). For the colonies: CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 432–500. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 163–220, 247–275. ABBOTT, vol. i, pp. 333–365. HOLM, vol. i, chap. xxi. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chap. ix. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. ii. KELLER, *Colonization*, pp. 39–50.

For the tyrannies: GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 378–421. HOLM, vol. i, chap. xxii. FOWLER, *The City-State of the Greeks and Romans*, chaps. iv, v. MAHAFFY, *Problems in Greek History*, chap. iv, and *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 99–101. COX, *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Polykrates."

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The trade of the Pontus, or Euxine: Curtius, vol. i, pp. 439–441. 2. Relations of a colony to its mother city. Curtius, vol. i, pp. 496–500. 3. The Delphic oracle and Greek colonization: Herodotus, iv, 150–153, 156–159; Curtius, vol. ii, pp. 49, 50. 4. Tales of the tyrants Cypselus, Polycrates, and Periander: Herodotus (consult index).



CHAPTER XVII

THE HISTORY OF ATHENS UP TO THE PERSIAN WARS

194. The Beginnings of Athens. Four or five miles from the sea, a little hill, about one thousand feet in length and half as many in width, rises about one hundred and fifty feet above the level of the plains of Attica. The security afforded by this eminence doubtless led to its selection as a stronghold by the early settlers of the Attic plains. Here a few buildings, perched upon the summit of the rock and surrounded by a palisade, constituted the beginnings of the capital whose fame has spread over all the world.

195. The Kings of Athens. In the prehistoric age Athens was ruled by kings, like the other Greek cities. The name of Theseus is one of the most noted of the regal line. To him tradition ascribed the work of uniting the separate Attic villages or strongholds, twelve in number, into a single city-state, thus making all the villagers Athenian citizens.[1] The annexed or absorbed villages or towns kept their minor offices and their social and religious institutions.

This prehistoric union of the Attic communities, however or by whomsoever effected, laid the basis of the greatness of Athens. How much the union meant for Athens, how it stood related to her ascendancy afterwards in Greece, is shown by the history of Thebes. Although holding the same relation to Bœotia that Athens held to Attica, Thebes never succeeded in uniting the Bœotian towns

[1] It was not an unusual thing for the Greeks to create a city in this way, and on the other hand to destroy one by separating it into villages.

into a single city-state, and consequently fretted away her strength in constant bickerings and wars with them.

196. The Archons. By the dawn of history the real power in the Athenian state had slipped out of the hands of the royal family and had come into the hands of the nobles. The old-time duties of the king had been assigned to magistrates chosen by the nobles from among themselves. A little after the opening of the seventh century we find a board of nine persons, called Archons, of whom the king in a subordinate position was one, standing at the head of the Athenian state. The old Homeric monarchy had become an oligarchy.

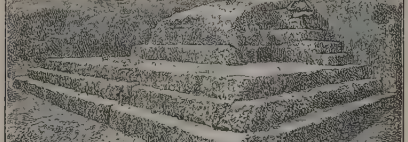


FIG. 99. THE BEMA, OR ORATOR'S STAND, ON THE PNYX HILL, ATHENS.[2] (From a photograph)

197. The Council of the Areopagus and the General Assembly. Besides the board of Archons there was in the Athenian state at this time a very important tribunal, called the Council of the Areopagus.[1] This council was a purely aristocratic body. Its members held office for life. The duty of the council was to see that the laws were duly observed, and to judge and punish great criminals. There was no appeal from its decisions. This council was, at the opening of the historic period, the real power in the Athenian state.

In addition to the board of Archons and the Council of the Areopagus, there is some evidence of the existence of a general assembly (Ἐκκλησία, *Ecclesia*), in which all those who served in the heavy-armed forces of the state had a place.[2]

[1] So called from the name of the hill Ἄρειος πάγος, "Hill of Ares," which was the assembling place of the council. It was "in the midst" of this hill that the Apostle Paul stood when he made his eloquent defense of Christianity (see Acts xvii, 22–31).

[2] The meetings of the Ecclesia in early times, until the construction of the Theater of Dionysus (sect. 320), were held on a low hill to the west of the Acropolis, supposed

198. Classes in the Athenian State. The leading class in the Athenian state were the nobles, or Eupatrids. These men were wealthy landowners, a large part of the best soil of Attica, it is said, being held by them. As already shown, all political authority was in their hands.

Beneath the nobles we find the body of the nominally free inhabitants. Many of them were tenants living in a condition little removed from serfdom upon the estates of the wealthy nobles. They paid rent in kind to their landlords, and in case of failure to pay, they, together with their wives and children, might be seized by the proprietor and sold as slaves. Others owned their little farms, but at the time of which we are speaking had fallen in debt to the wealthy class, their fields being heavily mortgaged to the money lenders. Thus because of their wretched economic condition, as well as because of their exclusion from the government, these classes among the common people were filled with bitterness towards the nobles and were ready for revolution.

199. Draco's Code (621 B.C.). It was probably to quiet the people and to save the state from anarchy[1] that the nobles at this time appointed a person named Draco, one of their own order, to write out and publish the laws.[2] In carrying into effect his commission, Draco probably did little more than reduce existing rules and customs to a definite and written form. The laws as published were very severe. Death was the penalty for the smallest theft. This severity of the Draconian laws is what caused a later Athenian orator to say that they were written, "not in ink, but in blood." But Draco was not responsible for their harshness; he made them no harsher than they were in their unwritten form.

to be identical with the so-called Pnyx Hill of to-day. On the Pnyx Hill may be seen a platform mounted by steps, the whole cut out of the native rock (Fig. 99). This rock pulpit is believed to be the celebrated *Bema* of the Athenian orators.

[1] Taking advantage of the unrest in the state, Cylon, a rich and ambitious noble, had just made an unsuccessful attempt to seize the supreme power (the Rebellion of Cylon, 628 or 624 B.C.).

[2] Up to this time the rules and customs of the city had been unwritten, and hence the Eupatrid magistrates, who alone administered the laws, could and often did interpret them unfairly in favor of their own class. The people demanded that the customs should be put in writing and published, so that every one might know just what they were.

There was one real and great defect in Draco's work. He did not accomplish anything in the way of land or economic reform, and thus did nothing to give relief to those who were struggling with poverty and were the victims of the harsh laws of debt.

200. The Reforms of Solon (594 B.C.). This condition of the poorer classes made urgent some measures of relief. Once more, as in the time of Draco, the Athenians placed their laws in the hands of a single man to be remodeled as he might deem best. Solon, one of the noblest and best beloved of the so-called Seven Wise Men (sect. 354), a man held in high esteem by all Athenians on account of distinguished public services, was selected to discharge this responsible duty. He turned his attention first to relieving the misery of the debtor class. He canceled all debts for which the debtor had pledged his liberty, and set free all who had been sold into slavery for debt. Moreover, that there might never again be seen in Attica the spectacle of men dragged off in chains to be sold as slaves in payment of their debts, Solon prohibited the practice of securing debts on the body of the debtor. No Athenian was ever after this sold for debt.

Such was the most important of the economic reforms of Solon.[1] His constitutional reforms were equally wise and beneficent. The Ecclesia, or popular assembly, was at this time composed of all those persons who were able to provide themselves with arms and armor; that is to say, of all the members of the three highest of the four property classes into which the people were divided.[2] The fourth and poorest class, the Thetes, were excluded. Solon opened the Ecclesia to them, giving them the right to vote, but not to hold office. An even more important constitutional change made by Solon was the establishment of popular courts of justice, whereby the magistrates became responsible to the people, who henceforth not only elected them, but judged them in case they did wrong. "The constitution of the judicial courts out of the whole people[3] was the

[1] According to some authorities Solon gave further relief to debtors by annulling all debts secured on land and by remitting a part of other debts.

[2] "It is doubtful whether Solon first instituted, or merely availed himself of the divisions of the citizens into the four classes." — GREENIDGE, *Roman Public Life* (1901), p. 151

[3] See sect. 242.

secret of democracy which Solon discovered. It is his title to fame in the history of the growth of popular government in Europe" (Bury).

Furthermore, Solon created a very important council composed of four hundred members, and hence called the Council of the Four Hundred.[1] Its chief duty was to prepare measures to be laid before the public assembly.

Besides his relief measures and constitutional reforms, Solon made various decrees in the interest of morality and good citizenship. He forbade evil speaking, at certain times and in certain places, not only of the dead but also of the living; forbade women to go about at night except in a wagon with a light carried before it; forbade hired mourners at a funeral; ruled that a son need not support his father if the father had neglected to teach him a trade; and decreed that any one failing to take sides in political party fights should forfeit his citizenship and be regarded as infamous.[2]

After having established his constitution and laws, in order to escape answering troublesome questions, Solon, according to Plutarch, left Athens and went abroad. Following the tradition current in his day, Plutarch makes him to have visited Crœsus (sect. 102), and to have had with him the famous discussion on what constitutes true happiness.[3] All this is probably pure invention, for it is hardly possible to make Solon and Crœsus contemporaries, but Plutarch thinks that so good a story ought not to be given up "because of so-called rules of chronology."

201. Pisistratus makes himself Tyrant of Athens (560 B.C.). The reforms of Solon naturally worked hardship to many persons. These became bitter enemies of the new order of things. Moreover, the reformed constitution failed to work smoothly. Taking advantage of the situation, Pisistratus, an ambitious noble and a nephew of the lawgiver Solon, resolved to seize the supreme power. This man courted popular favor and called himself "the friend of the people." One day having inflicted many wounds upon himself, he drove his chariot hastily into the public square, and pretended that he had

[1] This council replaced an earlier one consisting of four hundred and one members.
[2] Plutarch, *Solon*, xxi, xxii.
[3] Plutarch, *Solon*, xxvi, xxvii; see also Herodotus, i, 30–33.

been thus set upon by the nobles, because of his devotion to the people's cause. The people voted him a guard of fifty men. Under cover of raising this company, Pisistratus gathered a much larger force, seized the Acropolis, and made himself master of Athens. Though twice expelled from the city, Pisistratus as often returned and reinstated himself in the tyranny.

202. Character of the Rule of Pisistratus. Pisistratus gave Athens a mild rule, and under him the city enjoyed a period of great prosperity. He may be taken as a type of the better class of Greek tyrants, and much that was said in an earlier chapter respecting the domestic and foreign policies of these rulers finds illustration in the circumstances of his reign.

It was, as we have seen, the general policy of the tyrants to strengthen themselves by means of foreign alliances. This we find Pisistratus doing. He entered into alliances with Sparta, Thebes, Macedonia, and other states. Through these various connections Pisistratus made firmer his position both at home and abroad, while giving at the same time a wider range to the growing fame of Athens and enlarging the field of enterprise of the Athenian traders.

But before all else was the tyrant, in imitation of so many others of his class, a liberal patron of the gods and of art. He established or at least gave increased splendor to what was known as the Great Panathenæa,[1] a festival held every fourth year, in honor of Athens' patron goddess Athena, a main feature of which was a brilliant procession of youth carrying a rich robe woven by Athenian maidens and matrons as a gift to the virgin goddess; instituted a new festival in honor of Dionysus; and began at Athens the erection of a temple to Zeus Olympius on such a magnificent scale that it remained unfinished until the resources of the Roman emperor Hadrian, nearly seven hundred years later, carried the colossal building to completion.

Nor did Pisistratus fail to follow the traditional policy of the tyrants in respect to the patronage of letters. He invited to his court the literary celebrities of the day. He is credited with having gathered

[1] An annual festival in honor of the same patron goddess continued to be celebrated as hitherto, but henceforth was known as the Lesser Panathenæa.

the first public library at Athens, and is said to have caused the Homeric poems to be collected and critically edited. These poems were thus given their final form — an event in the literary history of Greece that has been likened in importance to the publication of King James's version of the Bible in the literary history of the English people. He is said also to have added to the embellishments of the Lyceum, a sort of public park just outside the city walls, which in after times became one of the favorite resorts of the poets, philosophers, and pleasure seekers of the capital.

FIG. 100. THE ATHENIAN TYRANNICIDES, HARMODIUS AND ARISTOGITON

Marble statues in the Naples Museum, recognized as ancient copies of the bronze statues set up at Athens in commemoration of the assassination of the tyrant Hipparchus

203. Expulsion of the Tyrants from Athens (510 B.C.). The two sons of Pisistratus, Hippias and Hipparchus, succeeded to his power. At first they emulated the example of their father, and Athens flourished under their rule. But at length an unfortunate event gave an entirely different tone to the government. Hipparchus, having insulted a young noble named Harmodius, this man, in connection with his friend Aristogiton and some others, planned to assassinate both the tyrants. Hipparchus was slain, but the plans of the conspirators miscarried as to Hippias. Harmodius was struck down by the guards of the tyrants, and Aristogiton, after having been tortured in vain to force him to reveal the names of the other conspirators, was put to death.

We have already spoken of how tyrannicide appeared to the Greek mind as an eminently praiseworthy act (sect. 190). This is well illustrated by the grateful and venerated remembrance in which Harmodius and Aristogiton were ever held by the Athenians. Statues were raised in their honor (Fig. 100), and the story of their deed was rehearsed to the youth as an incentive to patriotism and self-devotion.

The plot had a most unhappy effect upon the disposition of Hippias. It caused him to become suspicious and severe. His rule now became a tyranny indeed. With the help of the Spartans he was finally driven out of the city.

204. The Reforms of Clisthenes (508 B.C.). Straightway upon the expulsion of the tyrant Hippias, old feuds between factions of the nobles broke out afresh. A prominent noble named Clisthenes, head of one of the factions, feeling that he was not receiving in the way of coveted office the recognition from his own order which his merits deserved, allied himself with the common people as their champion. He thus got control of affairs in the state. With power once in his hands he used it to remold the constitution into a form still more democratic than that given it by Solon.

One of the most important of his measures was that by which he conferred citizenship upon a great body of poor Athenians who had hitherto been excluded from the rights of the city, and also upon many resident aliens and freedmen. This measure, which was effected through a regrouping of the people,[1] made such radical changes in the constitution in the interests of the masses that Clisthenes has been called "the second founder of the Athenian democracy."

205. Ostracism. Among the other innovations or institutions generally ascribed to Clisthenes was the celebrated one known as ostracism. By means of this process any person who had excited the suspicions or displeasure of the people could, without trial, be banished from Athens for a period of ten years. Six thousand

[1] The population of Attica comprised originally four tribes (*φυλαί*) membership in which was based on birth. In place of these four tribes Clisthenes formed ten new tribes in which he enrolled all free native Athenians, including, it would seem, many resident aliens and emancipated slaves. These new tribes, which were practically geographical divisions of Attica, were each made up of a number of local subdivisions called *demes*, or townships. The demes constituting any given tribe were scattered about Attica. The object of this was to break up the old factions, and also to give each tribe some territory in or near Athens, so that at least some of its members should be within easy reach of the meeting place of the Ecclesia. Fifty men chosen by lot from each of the ten new tribes constituted a new Council of Five Hundred, which took the place of the old Council of Four Hundred (sect. 200). A few years after the creation of these new tribes an important change was made in the organization of the army. In place of the four *strategi*, or generals, who commanded the forces of the four old tribes, ten generals were now elected, one by each of the ten new tribes.

votes[1] cast against any person in a meeting of the popular assembly was a decree of banishment. The name of the person whose banishment was sought was written on a shell or a piece of pottery, in Greek *ostrakon* (ὄστρακον), whence the term *ostracism*.

The design of this institution was to prevent the recurrence of such a usurpation as that of Pisistratus. It was first used to get rid of some of the old friends of the ex-tyrant Hippias, who, the Athenians had reason to believe, were plotting for his return. Later the vote came to be employed, as a rule, simply to settle disputes between rival leaders of political parties. Thus the vote merely expressed political preference, the ostracized person being simply the defeated candidate for popular favor. No stigma or disgrace attached to him.

The power that the device of ostracism lodged in the hands of the people was not always wisely used, and some of the ablest and most patriotic statesmen of Athens were sent into exile through the influence of some demagogue who for the moment had caught the popular ear.[2]

206. Sparta Opposes the Athenian Democracy. The aristocratic party at Athens was naturally bitterly opposed to all these democratic innovations. The Spartans also viewed with disquiet and jealousy this rapid growth of the Athenian democracy, and, inviting Hippias over from Asia, tried to overthrow the new government and restore him to power. But they did not succeed in their purpose, because their allies refused to aid them in such an undertaking, and Hippias went away to Persia to seek aid of King Darius. We shall hear of him again.

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Solon*. ARISTOTLE, *Athenian Constitution*, 13–19. Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 113–145; Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 117–129; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 77–97.

[1] Or possibly the largest vote cast against any person in an assembly of not less than six thousand citizens. The authorities are not clear.

[2] The institution was short-lived. It was resorted to for the last time during the Peloponnesian War (418 B.C.). The people then, in a freak, ostracized a man, Hyperbolus by name, whom all admitted to be the meanest man in Athens. This, it is said, was regarded as such a degradation of the institution, as well as such an honor to the mean man, that never thereafter did the Athenians degrade a good man or honor a bad one by a resort to the measure.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vol. i, pp. 316–431. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ii, pp. 422–529; vol. iii, pp. 324–398. ABBOTT, vol. i, chaps. ix, xiii, xv. The accounts of the Athenian constitution in Curtius, Grote, and Abbott, which were written before the discovery of the Aristotelian treatise, must be read in the light of the new evidence. HOLM, vol. i, chaps. xxvi–xxviii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Early Grecian History*, chaps. xii–xv. COX, *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Solon," "Peisistratus," and "Kleisthenes." GREENIDGE, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vi, sects. 1–3. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chaps. xi, xii. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. iv, sect. iv; chap. v, sect. ii. SEIGNOBOS (Wilde ed.), *History of Ancient Civilization*, chap. xii. Youthful readers will enjoy HARRISON, *Story of Greece*, chaps. xvi–xviii.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The environment of Athens: Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. ii. 2. Story of Solon and Crœsus: Plutarch, *Solon*, xxvii, xxviii. 3. The Council and the Assembly (Ecclesia): Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xiii. 4. Dwelling-houses: Gulick, *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. iii. 5. The occupations of farming and herding: Gulick, *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xvii. 6. The Athenian vase trade ("One of the most interesting phenomena in the history of ceramic art is the absorption of the market of the world by Attic wares."): *The Annual of the British School at Athens*, No. xi, pp. 224 ff., "The Distribution of Attic Vases"; Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology*, pp. 471–506.

CHAPTER XVIII

HELLAS OVERSHADOWED BY THE RISE OF PERSIA: PRELUDE TO THE PERSIAN WARS

207. The Real Cause of the Persian Wars. In a foregoing chapter on Greek colonization we showed how the expansive energies of the Greek race, chiefly during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., covered the islands and shores of the Mediterranean world with a free, liberty-loving, progressive, and ever-growing population of Hellenic speech and culture.

The first half of the sixth century had barely passed before this promising expansion movement was first checked and then seriously cramped by the rise of a great despotic Asiatic power, the Persian Empire, which, pushing outward from its central seat on the table-lands of Iran to the Ægean Sea, before the close of the century had subjugated the Greek cities of Asia Minor and was threatening to overwhelm in like manner those of European Greece. Here must be sought the real cause of the memorable wars between Hellas and Persia.

To understand, then, the character and import of the contest which we are approaching, we must now turn from our study of the rising cities of Greece in order to cast a glance at this colossal empire whose giant shadow was thus darkening the bright Hellenic world, and whose steady encroachments upon the Greek cities threatened to leave the Greeks no standing room on the earth.

As we have already watched from the standpoint of the oriental world the rise of the Persian Empire (Chapter IX), we shall here notice only those conquests of the Persian kings which concerned the Hellenic race, in whose fortunes we cannot now but feel an absorbing interest.

208. Conquest by Cyrus of the Asiatic Greek Cities (546–544 B.C.). It will be recalled that the Persian Empire was founded by Cyrus the Great (sect. 102), and that among the states of Asia Minor which he

brought under his dominion was the kingdom of Lydia. The Greek cities of the Asian coast which had formed part of the Lydian kingdom soon realized of what serious concern to them was the revolution that had transferred authority in Asia Minor from Lydian to Persian hands. Cyrus had asked them to join him in his war against Crœsus, but all except Miletus, satisfied with the easy conditions which that king had imposed upon them, refused to listen to any proposal of the kind.

Upon the downfall of Crœsus, these cities hastened to offer submission to the conqueror, asking that he would allow them to retain all the privileges which they had enjoyed under the Lydian monarchy. Cyrus refused their petition. Thereupon they closed their gates against him, and resolved to fight for their liberties. In a short time, however, all were reduced to submission.

Many of the Ionians, rather than live in Ionia as slaves, abandoned their old homes and sought new ones among the colonies of Western Hellas and on the Thracian shore. All the remaining inhabitants of the Asian Greek cities, together with those of the large islands of Chios and Lesbos, became subjects of the Persian king. The cities retained the management of their own affairs, under such governments as they chanced to have, but were forced to pay tribute, and to furnish contingents to the army of their master.

Thus at one blow was the whole of the eastern shore of the Ægean, the cradle and home of the earliest development in Greek poetry, philosophy, and art, severed from the Hellenic world.

209. Conquest of Phœnicia, Egypt, Cyprus, and Cyrene by Cambyses (529–522 B.C.). Under Cyrus' son, Cambyses, the Persian power pressed still more heavily upon the Greek world.

Cambyses first brought the cities of Phœnicia under his authority, and thus obtained control of their large naval resources. Straightway their galleys were ordered to be put in readiness to aid in the proposed subjection of Egypt. To the Phœnician fleet when collected was added a large contingent of ships furnished by the Asian Greeks, who were thus compelled to assist their master in reducing to slavery the rest of the world. Cyprus, a dependency of Egypt, was now conquered, and the naval strength of that island added to the already formidable armament of the Persian king.

Supported by his fleet, Cambyses marched his army from Syria into Egypt and, as already stated (sect. 103), speedily brought that country under his control. The conquest of Egypt drew after it the subjection to the Persian power of the Greek colonies of Cyrene and Barca on the African coast.

This extension of the authority of the Persian king over Phœnicia, Cyprus, Egypt, and the Greek colonies of the African shore, was another severe blow to Greek interests and Greek independence. The naval armaments of all these maritime countries were now subject to the orders of the Persian despot, and were ready to be turned against those of the Greeks who still were free.

210. Destruction of the Sea Power of Polycrates in the Ægean (522 B.C.). But it was the extension of the Persian authority in the West that most intimately concerned the Greek world. The year preceding the accession of Darius I to the Persian throne had witnessed the fall of Polycrates (sect. 192) and the virtual destruction of his maritime empire in the Ægean.

The dominion of Polycrates was scarcely more, it is true, than a piratical sea power; yet it was a Greek state, and might have proved, in the critical time fast approaching, an effectual barrier in the Ægean against the barbarian wave of conquest which now threatened to overwhelm with irretrievable ruin even the cities of European Greece.

211. The Scythian Expedition of Darius I; Conquests in Europe (513? B.C.). The growing anxiety of the Greeks in the homeland was intensified by the passage of the Bosphorus, about the year 513 B.C., by an immense Persian army led by Darius in person, whose purpose was the subjection of Thrace and the chastisement of the Scythians, old foes of the Asian peoples, inhabiting the lands north of the Lower Danube and the bleak steppes which comprise South Russia of to-day.

The outcome of this expedition was the addition of both Thrace and Macedonia, together with important islands in the northern Ægean, to the Persian Empire, and the advance of its western frontier to the passes of the mountains which guard Greece on the north.

The greater part of the shores of the Ægean was now in the possession of the Great King.[1] That sea which had so long been the special arena of Greek activity and Greek achievement had become practically a Persian lake. Moreover, through the loss of the Hellespontine regions the Greeks were cut off from the Euxine, which had come to be such an important part of the Hellenic world.

212. The Rise of the Persian Power in the East Synchronizes with the Rise of the Power of Carthage in the West. At the same time that the Greeks of the eastern Mediterranean were thus falling under the yoke of the Persians, and the liberty of the cities in the homeland was being threatened with extinction, the Greeks in Sicily were being hard pressed by another barbarian people, the Phœnicians. The power of Carthage was rising, and the Greek cities of Sicily were just now engaging in a doubtful contest with her for the possession of the island. Thus all round the horizon threatening clouds were darkening the once bright prospects of the Hellenic world.

It was, indeed, a critical moment in the history of the Greek race. As Ranke says, "It cannot be denied that the energetic Greek world was in danger of being crushed in the course of its vigorous development."

Selections from the Sources. HERODOTUS, i, 152, 153; iv, 137 (will afford a glimpse into the thought of the times). Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 147–154.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 135–193. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 399–491. HOLM, vol. i, chap. xxiii. OMAN, *History of Greece*, pp. 118–140. COX, *The Greeks and Persians*, chap. iii. BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 229–241. HARRISON, *Story of Greece*, chap. xx, pp. 220–228.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Culture of the Asiatic Greeks: Holm, vol. i, chap. xxiv, "Growth of Greek Philosophy, Literature, and Art in Asia Minor." 2. The sea power of Polycrates and its end: Curtius, vol. ii, pp. 160–172.

[1] Consult map after p. 98.

CHAPTER XIX

THE PERSIAN WARS

(500–479 B.C.)

213. The Beginning of the Ionian Revolt (500 B.C.); the Burning of Sardis (499 B.C.). The Greek cities reduced to servitude by Persia could neither long nor quietly endure the loss of their independence. In the year 500 B.C. Ionia became the center of a widespread rebellion against the Great King.

The Athenians sent twenty ships to the aid of their Ionian kinsmen.[1] Sardis was taken and laid in ashes. Defeated in battle, the Athenians, thoroughly disheartened, forsook their Ionian confederates and sailed back to Athens.

This unfortunate expedition was destined to have tremendous consequences. The Athenians had not only burned Sardis, but "had set the whole world on fire." When the news of the affair reached Darius at Susa, he asked, Herodotus tells us, who the Athenians were, and being informed, called for his bow, and placing an arrow on the string, shot upward into the sky, saying as he let fly the shaft, "Grant, O Zeus, that I may have vengeance on the Athenians." After this speech, he bade one of his servants every day when his dinner was spread to repeat to him three times these words: "Master, remember the Athenians."

214. Spread of the Rebellion; the Fall of Miletus (494 B.C.). Deserted by the Athenians, the only course left to the Ionians was to draw as many cities as possible into the revolt. In this they had great

[1] The Eretrians of Eubœa joined the Athenians with five triremes.

success. The movement became widespread and threatened the destruction of the Persian power in all those regions where its yoke had been laid upon the neck of once free Hellenes.

The military sources of the Great King were now collected for the suppression of the formidable rebellion. The Persian land and sea forces closed in around Miletus. After a long siege the city was taken. Most of the men were slain, and the women and children were transported beyond the Euphrates.

The cruel fate of Miletus stirred deeply the feelings of the Athenians. When, the year following the fall of the city, there was presented in the theater at Athens a drama entitled the *Capture of Miletus*, the people were moved to tears, and afterwards fined the author "for recalling to them their own misfortune." They also made a law forbidding the presentation of the piece again.

The remaining cities of Ionia shared the fate of Miletus. They were sacked and destroyed, and the fairest of the boys and maidens were carried off for the service of the Great King. Also all the Greek cities on the European side of the Hellespont were taken and burned, and several important islands in the northern Ægean were harried.

The first serious attempt of the enslaved Greeks to recover their lost freedom was thus suppressed. The eastern half of the Greek world, filled with the ruins of once flourishing cities, and bearing everywhere the cruel marks of barbarian warfare, lay again in vassalage to the Great King. "The mild Ionian heavens did their part to heal the wounds: the waste places were again in time built upon, and cities, such as Ephesus, bloomed again in great prosperity; but as to a history of Ionia, that was for all time past."[1]

215. The First Expedition of Darius against Greece (492 B.C.). With the Ionian revolt crushed and punished, Darius determined to forestall all further trouble from the European Greeks by incorporating Greece in the Persian Empire. Accordingly he sent heralds to the various Greek states to demand earth and water, the Persian symbols of submission.[2] The weaker states gave the tokens required;

[1] Curtius, *Griechische Geschichte* (6th ed.), vol. i, p. 629.

[2] We follow Eduard Meyer in bringing this embassy into connection with the expedition of 492 B.C. instead of that of 490 B.C. Meyer believes Herodotus (vi, 48) is wrong in connecting it with the second expedition.

but the Athenians and Spartans threw the envoys of the king into pits and wells and bade them help themselves to earth and water.

A large land and naval armament was now fitted out and placed under the command of Mardonius, the son-in-law of Darius, for the subjugation of the cities that had not only refused to comply with the demand for earth and water, but had further violated the sanctity of ambassadors. The expedition was unfortunate. The land forces suffered severe losses at the hands of the barbarians of Thrace, and the fleet was wrecked by a violent storm off Mt. Athos (492 B.C.).

216. The Second Expedition of Darius (490 B.C.). Undismayed by this disaster, Darius issued orders for the raising and equipping of another and stronger armament. By the opening of the year 490 B.C. an army had been mustered for the second attempt upon Greece.[1] This armament was entrusted to the command of the experienced generals Datis and Artaphernes, but was under the guidance of the traitor Hippias (sect. 206). Transports bore the army from the coasts of Asia Minor over the Ægean towards the Grecian shores.

After receiving the submission of the most important of the Cyclades, and capturing and sacking the city of Eretria upon the island of Eubœa, the Persians landed at Marathon, barely one day's journey from Athens. Here is a sheltered bay, which is edged by a crescent-shaped plain backed by the rugged ranges of Parnes and Pentelicus. Upon this level ground the Persian generals, acting upon the advice of Hippias, drew up their army, flushed and confident with their recent successes.

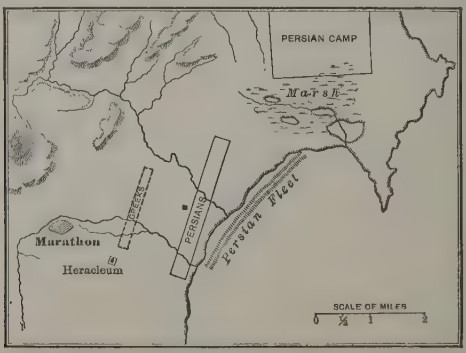
217. The Battle of Marathon (490 B.C.). The Athenians made surpassing efforts to avert from their city the impending destruction. Instead of awaiting behind their walls the coming of the Persians, they decided to offer them battle in the open field at Marathon. Accordingly they marched out ten thousand strong.

While the Athenians were getting ready for the fight, a fleet runner, Phidippides by name, was hurrying with a message to Sparta for aid. The practical value of the athletic training of the Greeks

[1] It is impossible to reach any certainty as to the size of the Persian army. The lowest figures given by any ancient authority is 210,000, while the estimates of modern military experts and historians vary from 200,000 to 20,000. This last number is the estimate of Eduard Meyer.

was now shown. In just thirty-six hours Phidippides was in Sparta, which is one hundred and thirty-five or forty miles from Athens. Now it so happened that it lacked a few days of the full of the moon, during which interval the Spartans, owing to an old superstition, dared not set out upon a military expedition.[1] Nevertheless, they promised aid, but marched from Sparta only in time to reach Athens after all was over.

The Platæans, however, firm and grateful friends of the Athenians on account of the protection accorded them by Athens against the



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF MARATHON

Thebans, no sooner had received their appeal for help than they responded to a man, and joined them at Marathon with a thousand heavy-armed soldiers.

The Athenians and their faithful allies took up their position just where the hills of Pentelicus sink into the plain of Marathon, thus covering the road to Athens. The Persian army occupied the low ground in their front, while the transports covered the beach behind.

[1] Such is the reason assigned by Herodotus (vi, 106) for their delay. Modern historians are divided in opinion as to whether or not the alleged excuse was anything more than a subterfuge. We shall be less likely to regard it as a mere pretext, if we recall that even an Athenian general, in the very heyday of Athens' intellectual life, acted on a like superstition to his own tragic undoing and that of his city (sect. 261).

After a delay of a few days the battle was begun by the Greeks suddenly charging down upon the enemy's lines. These being broken and thrown into disorder by the onset, the Persians were driven with great slaughter to their ships.

A legend of later origin tells how straightway after the battle, Miltiades, the Athenian general who was in supreme command, dispatched a courier to take news of the victory to Athens. The messenger reached the city in a few hours, but so exhausted that, as the people pressed around him to hear the news he bore, "he breathed forth his life" with the words in which he announced the victory.[1]

But the danger was not yet over. The Persians, instead of returning to the coast of Asia, sailed round to Athens, thinking to take the city before the Athenian army could return from Marathon. Miltiades, however, informed by watchers on the hills of the movements of the enemy, straightway set out with his little army for the capital, which he reached just at evening, probably on the day following the fight at Marathon. The next morning when the Persian generals would have made an attack upon Athens, they found themselves confronted by the same men who had beaten them back from the Marathon shore. Shrinking from another encounter with these citizen soldiers, the Persians spread their sails and bore away for the Ionian shore.

Thus the cloud that had lowered so threateningly over Hellas was for a time dissipated. The most imposing honors were accorded to the heroes who had achieved the glorious victory, and their names and deeds were transmitted to posterity in song and marble. The bodies of the one hundred and ninety-two Athenians who had fallen were buried on the field, and an enormous mound of earth was raised over them.[2]

218. Results of the Battle of Marathon. The battle of Marathon is justly reckoned as one of the "decisive battles of the world." It marks a turning point in the history of humanity. The battle decided that no longer the despotism of the East, with its repression of all individual action, but the freedom of the West, with all its incentives

[1] The modern "Marathon race" owes its origin to this picturesque story.

[2] Herodotus makes the loss of the Persians 6400.

to personal effort, should mark the future centuries of history. The tradition of the fight forms the prelude of the story of human freedom.

Again, by the victory Hellenic civilization was saved to mature its fruit, not for Hellas alone but for the world. We cannot conceive what European civilization would be like without those rich and vitalizing elements contributed to it by the Greek, and especially by the Athenian, genius. But the germs of all these might have been smothered and destroyed had the barbarians won the day at Marathon. Ancient Greece, as a satrapy of the Persian Empire, would certainly have become what modern Greece became as a province of the empire of the Ottoman Turks.

Moreover, the overwhelming defeat which the handful of Athenian freemen had inflicted upon the hitherto invincible army of the Great King broke the spell of the Persian name and destroyed forever the prestige of the Persian arms. The victory gave the Hellenic peoples that position of authority and preëminence that had been so long held by the successive races of the East.

The great achievement further especially revealed the Athenians to themselves. The consciousness of resources and power became the inspiration of their after deeds. They did great things thereafter because they believed themselves able to do them. From the battle of Marathon dates the beginning of the great days of imperial Athens.

219. Themistocles and his Naval Policy. At this time there came prominently forward at Athens a man whose genius, aided by favoring circumstances, was to create the naval greatness of the Athenian state. This was Themistocles, a sagacious, farsighted, versatile statesman, who, in his own words, though "he knew nothing of music and song, did know how of a small city to make a great one." He was an ambitious man, whom "the trophies of Miltiades robbed of sleep."

While many among the Athenians were inclined to believe that the battle of Marathon had freed Athens forever from the danger of another Persian attack, Themistocles was clear-sighted enough to perceive that that battle was only the beginning of a tremendous struggle between Hellas and Persia, and the signal for still another and more formidable invasion of Greece by the barbarians. Hence he labored incessantly to persuade the Athenians to strengthen their

navy, which they had begun to build after the fall of Miletus, as the only reliable defense of Hellas against subjection to the Persian power.

220. Aristides Opposes the Policy of Themistocles and is Ostracized (483 B.C.). Themistocles was opposed in this policy by Aristides, called the Just, a man of the most scrupulous integrity, who feared that Athens would make a serious mistake if she converted her land force into a naval armament. This seemed to him a wide departure from the traditions of the fathers. The contention grew so sharp between the two that ostracism was called into use to decide the matter. Six thousand votes were cast against Aristides, and he was sent into exile.

FIG. 101. OSTRAKON WITH NAME OF THEMISTOCLES. (British Museum)

This recently discovered ostrakon (potsherd) is probably one that was cast against Themistocles at the time Aristides was ostracized

It is related that while the vote that ostracized him was being taken in the assembly, an illiterate peasant, who was a stranger to Aristides, asked him to write the name of Aristides upon his tablet. As he placed the name upon the shell, the statesman asked the man what wrong Aristides had ever done him. "None," replied the voter; "I do not even know him; but I am tired of hearing him called the Just."

After the banishment of Aristides, Themistocles was free to carry out his naval policy, and soon Athens had the largest fleet of any Greek city, with a splendid harbor at Piræus.[1] These ships, as we shall learn soon, were the salvation of Athens and of Greece.

[1] Circumstances happily concurred in the advancement of Themistocles' plans. Just at this time there was a large sum of money in the treasury of the city, which had been derived from the public silver mines at Laurium, in the southeastern part of Attica. This money was about to be divided among the citizens; Themistocles persuaded them to devote it to the building of warships.

221. Xerxes' Preparations to Invade Greece. No sooner had the news of the disaster at Marathon been carried to Darius than he began to make gigantic preparations to avenge this second defeat and humiliation. But in the midst of these plans for the punishment of the presumptuous Greeks his reign was cut short by death, and his son Xerxes came to the throne.

Urged on by his nobles as well as by exiled Greeks at his court, who sought to gratify ambition or enjoy revenge in the humiliation and ruin of their native land, Xerxes, though at first disinclined to enter into a contest with the Greeks, at length ordered the preparations begun by his father to be pushed forward with the utmost energy. For eight years all Asia was astir with the work of preparation. Levies were made upon all the provinces that acknowledged the authority of the Great King, from India to Macedonia, from the regions of the Oxus to those of the Upper Nile. From all the maritime states upon the Mediterranean were demanded vast contingents of war galleys, transport ships, and naval stores.

While these land and sea forces were being gathered and equipped, gigantic works were in progress on the Thracian coast and on the Hellespont to insure the safety and facilitate the march of the coming hosts. It will be recalled that the expedition of Mardonius was ruined by the destruction of his fleet in rounding the promontory of Mount Athos (sect. 215). That the warships and transports of the present armament, upon the safety of which the success of his undertaking so wholly depended, might not be exposed to the dangers of a passage around this projecting tongue of land, Xerxes determined to dig a canal across the neck of the isthmus. This great work consumed three years. Traces of the cutting may be seen to-day.

At the same time that the canal at Mount Athos was being excavated, a still more gigantic work was in progress upon the Hellespont. Here Europe was being bound to Asia by a double bridge of boats, probably at a point where the strait is about one and a half miles in width. This work was in the hands of Egyptian and Phœnician artisans.

By the spring of the year 481 B.C. the preparations for the long-talked-of expedition were about completed, and in the fall

of that year we find Xerxes upon his way to Sardis, which had been selected as the rendezvous of the contingents of the great army of invasion.

Just as Xerxes was about to march from Sardis, news was brought to him that the bridges across the Hellespont had been broken by a violent storm. Herodotus relates that Xerxes was thrown into a great passion by this intelligence, and ordered the architects of the bridges to be put to death and the Hellespont to be scourged with three hundred lashes. The scourgers carried out obediently the orders of their master, and as they lashed the traitorous and rebellious waters cursed them "in non-Hellenic and blasphemous words."

222. Disunion of the Greeks; Congress at Corinth (481 B.C.). Startling rumors of the gigantic preparations that the Persian king was making to crush them were constantly borne across the Ægean to the ears of the Greeks in Europe. Finally came intelligence that Xerxes was about to begin his march. Something must now be done to meet the impending danger. Mainly through the exertions of Themistocles, a council of the Greek cities was convened at Corinth in the fall of 481 B.C.

But on account of feuds, jealousies, and party spirit, only a small number of the states of Hellas could be brought to unite their resources against the barbarians; and even the strength of the cities that entered into the alliance was divided by party spirit. The friends of aristocratic government were almost invariably friends of Persia, because the Persian king looked with more favor upon aristocratic than democratic government in his subject Greek cities. Thus, for the sake of a party victory, the oligarchs were ready to betray their country into the hands of the barbarians.

Furthermore, the Delphian oracle was wanting in courage, — to the managers of the shrine the situation doubtless looked desperate, — and by its timid responses disheartened the patriot party. But under the inspiration of Themistocles the patriots in convention at Corinth determined upon stout resistance to the barbarians. It was at first decided to concentrate a strong force in the Vale of Tempe, and at that point to dispute the advance of the enemy; but

this place having been found untenable, the first stand against the invaders was made at the Pass of Thermopylæ.

The Spartans were given the chief command of both the land and the naval forces. The Athenians might fairly have insisted upon their right to the command of the allied fleet, but they patriotically waived their claim for the sake of harmony.

223. The Passage of the Hellespont. With the first indications of the opening spring of 480 B.C., just ten years after the defeat at

MAP ILLUSTRATING THE INVASION OF GREECE BY XERXES

Marathon, the vast Persian army was astir and concentrating from all points upon the Hellespont. The passage of this strait, as pictured to us in the inimitable narration of Herodotus, is one of the most dramatic of all the spectacles afforded by history. Herodotus affirms, with exaggeration doubtless, that for seven days and seven nights the bridges groaned beneath the living tide that Asia was pouring into Europe.

Upon an extended plain called Doriscus, on the European shore, Xerxes drew up his vast army for review and census. The count

completed,[1] the immense army, attended along the shore by the fleet, marched forward through Thrace, and so on toward Greece.

224. The Battle of Thermopylæ (480 B.C.). Leading from Thessaly into Central Greece is a narrow pass, pressed on one side by the sea and on the other by rugged mountain ridges. At the foot of the cliffs break forth several hot springs, whence the name of the pass, Thermopylæ (Hot Gates).

At this point, in accordance with the decision of the Corinthian congress, was offered the first resistance to the progress of the Persian army. Leonidas, king of Sparta, with three hundred Spartan soldiers and about six thousand allies from different states, held the pass. As the Greeks were about to celebrate certain festivals which fell at just this time, and as no one thought that the fight at the pass would be decided so quickly as it actually was, this handful of men was left unsupported to hold in check the army of Xerxes until the festival days were over.[2]

The Spartans could be driven from their advantageous position only by an attack in front, as the Grecian fleet prevented Xerxes from landing a force in their rear. Before assaulting them, Xerxes summoned them to give up their arms. The answer of Leonidas was, "Come and take them." For two days the Persians tried to storm the pass. But every attempt to force the way was repulsed; even the Ten Thousand Immortals,[3] the royal bodyguard, were hurled back from the Spartan front like waves from a cliff.

[1] According to Herodotus, the land and naval forces of Xerxes amounted to 2,317,000 men, besides about 2,000,000 slaves and attendants. It is certain that these figures are a great exaggeration. Widely different estimates have been made by modern historians. Eduard Meyer puts the land forces at 100,000 and the naval forces at 150,000 to 200,000. These numbers take no account of camp followers. For a scholarly discussion of the question, see *The Classical Journal*, vol. x (1914-1915), a paper entitled "Thoughts on the Reliability of the Classical Writers, with Special Reference to the Size of the Army of Xerxes," by Dr. John A. Scott.

[2] This is the explanation of the conduct of the allies given by Herodotus (vii, 206). Modern critics are inclined to the opinion that the plea of the Spartans respecting the observation of the festival days was a mere pretext, and that the real reason they and the other Peloponnesians — on whom the duty of providing the land forces chiefly rested, since the Athenians were on the water — did not send a larger force to the pass was because it was their selfish policy to make the real stand against the enemy at the Isthmus.

[3] This body of picked soldiers was so called because its number was always kept up to ten thousand.

But an act of treachery on the part of a native Greek, Ephialtes by name, "the Judas of Greece," rendered unavailing all the bravery of the keepers of the pass. This man, hoping for a large reward, revealed to Xerxes a bypath leading over the mountain to the rear of the Greeks. The startling intelligence was brought to Leonidas that the Persians were descending the mountain path in his rear. Realizing that the pass could no longer be held, the most of the allies now withdrew from the place while opportunity still remained; but for Leonidas and his Spartan companions there could be no thought of retreat. Death in the pass, the defense of which had been intrusted to them, was all that Spartan honor and Spartan law now left them. The next day, surrounded by the Persian host, they fought with desperate valor; but, overwhelmed by mere numbers, they were slain to the last man. With them also perished seven hundred Thespians who had chosen death with their companions.

The fight at Thermopylæ echoed through all the after centuries of Grecian history. The Greeks felt that all Hellas had gained great glory on that day when Leonidas and his companions fell, and they gave them a chief place among their national heroes. Memorial pillars marked for coming generations the sacred spot, while praising inscriptions and epitaphs told in brief phrases the story of the battle. Among these was an inscription in special memory of the Spartans who had fallen, which, commemorating at once Spartan law and Spartan valor, read, "Stranger, go tell the Lacedæmonians that we lie here in obedience to their commands!"[1]

225. The Athenians Abandon their City and Betake Themselves to their Ships. Athens now lay open to the invaders. The Peloponnesians, thinking first of their own safety, commenced throwing up defenses across the Isthmus of Corinth. Athens was thus left outside to care for herself.

Counsels were now divided. The Delphian oracle had obscurely

[1] While Leonidas and his men were striving to hold the pass, the Greek fleet, stationed at Artemisium at the head of the island of Eubœa, was endeavoring to prevent the Persian fleet from entering the strait between the island and the mainland. Here for three days the Greeks fought the Persian ships (the battle of Artemisium), and then, upon receipt of the news that the pass was lost, retreated down the Eubœan straits, and came to anchor in the gulf of Salamis, near Athens.

declared, "When everything else in the land of Cecrops shall be taken, Zeus grants to Athena that the *wooden walls* alone shall remain unconquered, to defend you and your children." The oracle was believed to be, as was declared, "firm as adamant."

But there were various opinions as to what was meant by the "wooden walls." Some thought the Pythian priestess directed the Athenians to seek refuge in the forests on the mountains; others, that the oracle meant that they should defend the Acropolis, which in ancient times had been surrounded with a wooden palisade; but Themistocles (who, it is thought, may have himself prompted the oracle) contended that the ships were plainly indicated.

The last interpretation was acted upon. All the soldiers of Attica were crowded upon the vessels of the fleet at Salamis. The aged men, with the women and children, were carried out of the country to different places of safety. All the towns of Attica, with the capital, were thus abandoned to the conquerors. A few days afterwards the Persians entered upon the deserted plain, which they rendered more desolate by ravaging the fields and burning the empty towns. Athens shared the common fate, and her temples sank in flames.

226. The Naval Battle of Salamis (480 B.C.). Just off the coast of Attica, separated from the mainland by a narrow passage of water, lies the island of Salamis. Here lay the Greek fleet, awaiting the Persian attack. To hasten on the attack before dissensions should divide the Greek forces, Themistocles resorted to the following stratagem. He sent a messenger to Xerxes representing that he himself was ready to espouse the Persian cause, and advised an immediate attack on the allied fleet, which he represented as being in no condition to make any formidable resistance. Xerxes was deceived. He ordered an immediate attack. From a lofty throne upon the shore he himself overlooked the scene and watched the result. The Persian fleet was broken to pieces and two hundred of the ships destroyed.[1]

The blow was decisive. Xerxes, fearing that treachery might burn or break the Hellespontine bridges, instantly dispatched a hundred ships to protect them; and then, leaving Mardonius with a large

[1] The entire Persian fleet numbered about 750 vessels; the Grecian, about 380 ships, mostly triremes.

force to retrieve the disaster of Salamis, and effect, as he promised to do, the conquest of the rest of Greece, the monarch with a strong escort made an ignominious retreat into Asia.

227. Mardonius Tries to Bribe the Athenians; the Battle of Platæa (479 B.C.). With the opening of the spring of 479 B.C. Mardonius sent an embassy to Athens, promising the Athenians many things provided they would come over to the Persian side. The Athenians' reply was, "While the sun holds his course in the heavens, we will

ATHENS AND SALAMIS

never form a league with the Persian king." Upon receiving this answer Mardonius, breaking up his camp in Thessaly, marched south, and, after ravaging Attica anew, withdrew into Bœotia. Here the Greeks confronted him with the largest army they had ever gathered.[1] In the battle which followed (the battle of Platæa), Mardonius was slain and his army with great losses was put to flight.

228. The Battle of Mycale (479 B.C.). Upon the same day, tradition says, that the Greeks won the victory at Platæa they gained another over a Persian land and sea force at Cape Mycale in Ionia.

[1] Estimates of the number vary from 110,000 to 70,000. The Spartan Pausanias was in chief command.

This victory at Mycale was a fitting sequel to the one at Platæa: that had freed European Greece from the presence of the barbarians; this, in the phrase of Herodotus, "restored to Grecian freedom the Hellespont and the islands." For straightway Samos, Chios, Lesbos, and other islands of the Ægean that had been in vassalage to Persia were now liberated, and received as members into the confederacy of the patriot states of the mother land.[1]

229. Memorials and Trophies of the War. The glorious issue of the war caused a general burst of joy and exultation throughout Greece. Poets, artists, and orators all vied with one another in commemorating the deeds of the heroes whose valor had warded off the impending danger. The poet Simonides[2] composed immortal couplets for the monuments of the fallen heroes of Thermopylæ and Salamis; the dramatist Æschylus, who had fought at Marathon and perhaps at Salamis and Platæa, erected an eternal monument in literature in his *Persians*,[3] which, eight years after the battle, was presented at Athens before twenty thousand spectators, many of whom had had part in the fight; and the great artist Polygnotus painted on the walls of a public porch at Athens the battle of Marathon. In truth, the great literature and art of the golden age of Athens were an imperishable memorial of the war.

Fig. 102. Hoplite, or Heavy-armed Greek Warrior

Nor did the pious Greeks think that the marvelous deliverance had been effected without the intervention of the gods in their behalf. "A god," sang Pindar, "hath turned away the Tantalus stone hanging over Hellas." Upon the Acropolis at Athens was erected a colossal

[1] On the very day of the battle of Salamis, according to tradition, Gelo, tyrant of Syracuse, gained a great victory in Sicily over the Carthaginians, who had arranged with Xerxes to attack the Greeks in the West at the same time that the Persians made their attack in the East. So that was a memorable day for Hellas.

[2] Simonides of Ceos (556–467 B.C.).

[3] This is the only Greek drama preserved to us which deals with contemporary history.

statue of Athena, made from the brazen arms gathered from the field at Marathon, while within the sanctuary of the goddess were placed the broken cables of the Hellespontine bridges, at once a proud trophy of victory and a signal illustration of the divine punishment that had befallen the audacious and impious attempt to lay a yoke upon the sacred waters of the Hellespont.

FIG. 103. A MEMORIAL OF THE BATTLE OF PLATÆA

The bronze pedestal, preserved at Constantinople, that supported the golden tripod dedicated to the Delphic Apollo

Lastly, to Apollo at Delphi was gratefully consecrated a tenth of the immense spoils from the field of Platæa. The gift was in the form of a golden tripod set on a bronze pedestal of twisted snakes. Upon the base of the support were inscribed the names of all the cities and states which had taken part in the war. Eight centuries after it was set up, this pedestal was carried off to Constantinople, probably by the Roman emperor Constantine the Great, and there it stands to-day (Fig. 112).

Selections from the Sources. ÆSCHYLUS, *The Persians* (an historical drama which celebrates the victory of Salamis). HERODOTUS, v, 49–54 (Aristagoras pleads before Cleomenes). PLUTARCH, *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 154–227; Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 130–198; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 98–143.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 201–352. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iii, pp. 492–521; vol. iv, pp. 1–294. ABBOTT, vol. ii, chaps. i–v. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. i–vi. COX, *The Greeks and the Persians*. CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. i, "The Battle of Marathon." CHURCH, *Pictures from Greek Life and Story*, chaps. iii–viii (for youthful readers). Teachers will find valuable topographical material in GRUNDY, *The Great Persian War*.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The Delphic oracle given the Athenians at the beginning of the Persian War: Herodotus, vii, 140–143. 2. The trireme: Gulick, *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xv, pp. 199–205. 3. Themistocles in council and in battle at Salamis: Plutarch, *Themistocles*, xi–xv.

CHAPTER XX

THE MAKING OF THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE

(479–445 B.C.)

230. The Rebuilding of Athens; the Fortifications of the Piræus (478–477 B.C.). After the battle of Platæa and the expulsion of the barbarians from Greece, the Athenians who had found an asylum at Salamis, Ægina, and other places returned to Athens. They found only a heap of ruins where their city had once stood. Under the lead of Themistocles, the people with admirable spirit set themselves to the task of rebuilding their homes and erecting new walls.

The rival states of the Peloponnesian League watched the proceedings of the Athenians with the most jealous interest. The Spartans sent an embassy to dissuade them from rebuilding their walls, hypocritically assigning as the ground of their interest in the matter their fear lest, in case of another Persian invasion, the city, if captured, should become a stronghold for the enemy. But the Athenians persisted in their purpose, and soon had raised the wall to such a height that they could defy interference.

At the same time that the work of restoration was going on at Athens, the fortifications at Piræus were being enlarged and strengthened. That Athens' supremacy depended upon control of the sea had now become plain to all. Consequently the haven town was surrounded with walls even surpassing in strength the new walls of the upper city. The Piræus soon grew into a bustling commercial city, one of the chief centers of trade in the Hellenic world.[1]

[1] A few years after this Themistocles fell into disfavor and was ostracized (471 B.C.). He finally bent his steps to Susa, the Persian capital. King Artaxerxes appointed him governor of Magnesia in Asia Minor and made provision for his wants by assigning to three cities the duty of providing for his table: one was to furnish bread, a second wine, and a third meat. Plutarch relates that one day as the exile sat down to his richly loaded board he exclaimed, "How much we should have lost, my children, if we had not been ruined!" He died probably about 460 B.C.

231. The Formation of the Confederacy of Delos (477 B.C.). Soon after the battle of Mycale the Ionian states, in order that they might be able to carry on more effectively the work to which they had set their hands, namely, the liberating of the Greek cities yet in the power of the Persians, formed a league known as the Confederacy of Delos. Sparta and her Peloponnesian allies were excluded from the league on account of the treachery of the Spartan Pausanias, who had been in command of the allied fleet. All the Asian cities of Ionia and Æolis, almost all the island towns of the Ægean, the cities of Chalcidice, together with those just set free along the Hellespont and the Bosphorus, became members of the alliance. The league was a free association of independent and equal states, about two hundred and sixty in number. Athens was to be the head of the confederacy. Aristides was chosen as the first president. Matters of common concern were to be in the hands of a congress convened yearly in the sacred island of Delos and composed of delegates from all the cities.

At Delos, also, in the temple of Apollo, was to be kept the common treasure chest, to which each state was to make contribution according to its ability. What proportion of the ships and money should be contributed by the several states for carrying out the purposes of the union was left at first entirely to the decision of Aristides, such was the confidence all possessed in his fairness and incorruptible integrity; and so long as he retained control of the matter, none of the allies ever had cause for complaint.

The formation of this Delian League constitutes a prominent landmark in Grecian history. It meant not simply the transfer from Sparta to Athens of leadership in the maritime affairs of Hellas. It meant that all the promises of Panhellenic union in the great alliance formed at Corinth in 481 B.C. had come to naught. It meant, since the Peloponnesian Confederacy still continued to exist, that henceforth Hellas was to be a house divided against itself.

232. The Athenians Convert the Delian League into an Empire. The Confederacy of Delos laid the basis of the imperial power of Athens. The Athenians misused their authority as leaders of the league, and gradually, during the interval between the formation of

the union and the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, reduced their allies to the condition of tributaries and subjects.

Athens transformed the league into an empire in the following manner. The contributions assessed by Aristides upon the different members of the confederation consisted of ships for the larger states and of money payments for the smaller ones. From the first, Athens attended to this assessment matter, and saw to it that each member of the league made its proper contribution.

After a while, some of the cities preferring to make a money payment in lieu of ships, Athens accepted the commutation, and then, building the ships herself, added them to her own navy. Thus the confederates disarmed themselves and armed their master.

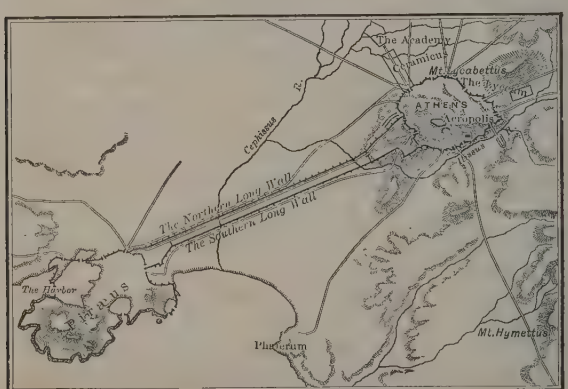
Very soon the restraints which Athens imposed upon her allies became irksome, and they began to refuse, one after another, to pay the assessment in any form. Naxos, one of the Cyclades, was the first island to secede from the league (466 B.C.). But Athens had no idea of admitting any such doctrine of state rights, and with her powerful navy forced the Naxians to remain within the union and to pay an increased tribute.

What happened in the case of Naxos happened in the case of other members of the confederation. By the year 449 B.C. only three of the island members of the league — Lesbos, Chios, and Samos — still retained their independence. They alone of all the former allies did not pay tribute.

Even before the date last named (probably about 457 B.C.) the Athenians had transferred the common treasury from Delos to Athens, and, diverting the tribute from its original purpose, were beginning to spend it, not in the prosecution of war against the barbarians, but in the carrying on of home enterprises, as though the treasure were their own revenue. About this time also the congress probably ceased to exist.

Thus what had been simply a voluntary confederation of sovereign and independent cities was converted into what was practically an absolute monarchy, with the Attic democracy as the imperial master. Thus did Athens become a "tyrant city." From being the liberator of the Greek cities she had become their enslaver.

233. Cimon and Pericles. Two of the most prominent of the Athenian leaders at this time were Cimon and Pericles. Cimon, son of Miltiades, was one of the most successful of the admirals to whom, after the expulsion of the Persians from Greece, was intrusted the command of the armaments designed to wrest from them the islands of the Ægean and the Hellenic cities of the Asiatic coast. He was the leader of the aristocratic party at Athens, and the friend of Sparta. He was broad-minded, and his policy was the



ATHENS AND HER LONG WALLS

maintenance in Greece of a dual hegemony, Sparta being allowed leadership on land and Athens leadership on the sea.

Cimon was opposed by Pericles, who believed that such a double leadership was impracticable. The aim of his policy was to make Athens supreme not only on the sea but also on the land. The popularity of Cimon at last declined and he was ostracized. The fall of Cimon gave Pericles a free hand in the carrying out of his ambitious policy.

234. Construction of the Long Walls. As a part of his maritime policy, Pericles persuaded the Athenians to push to completion what were known as the Long Walls (about 457–455 B.C.), which united Athens to the port of Piræus. By means of these great ramparts

PLATE X. THE PIRÆUS AND THE LONG WALLS OF ATHENS. (A restoration by *Thiersch*)

Athens and her principal port, with the intervening land, were converted into a vast fortified district, capable in time of war of holding the entire population of Attica.[1] With her communication with the sea thus secured, and with a powerful navy at her command, Athens could bid defiance to her foes on sea and land.

235. Pericles Tries in Vain to Create a Land Empire; the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). At the same time that Pericles was making Athens' supremacy by sea more secure, he was endeavoring to build up for her a land empire in Central Greece. As Athenian influence in this quarter increased, Sparta became more and more jealous, and strove to counteract it by enhancing the power of Thebes and by lending support to the aristocratic party in the various cities of Bœotia.

The contest between the two rivals was long and bitter. It was ended by what is known as the Peace of Pericles, or the Thirty Years' Truce (445 B.C.). By the terms of this treaty each of the rival cities was left at the head of the confederation it had formed, but neither was to interfere with the other's allies or give aid to its revolted subjects. All disputes were to be settled by arbitration.

The real meaning of the truce was that Athens gave up her ambition to establish a land empire and was henceforth to be content with supremacy on the seas.

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Aristides* and *Cimon*. THUCYDIDES, i, 90–93 (tells how Themistocles outwitted Sparta). Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 241–268; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 144–159.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 353–459. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iv, pp. 330–437. ABBOTT, vol. ii, pp. 243–415. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. vii–xiv. ALLCROFT, *The Making of Athens*, chaps. viii, x. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chaps. xxii–xxiv. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. viii. COX, *The Athenian Empire* (earlier chapters); and *Lives of Athenian Statesmen*, "Aristeides," "Themistokles," "Pausanias," "Kimon." GREENIDGE, *Handbook of Greek Constitutional History*, chap. vi, sect. 5.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The walls of Athens and the Piræus: Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 330–332, 377. 2. Aristides the Just; his ostracism: Harrison, *The Story of Greece*, pp. 317–321. 3. The treachery of Pausanias: Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 317–321.

[1] It is probable that Cimon began the work on these defenses. The ramparts were built about two hundred feet apart, and were between four and five miles in length. They were twelve feet thick and thirty feet high, and were defended by numerous towers, which, when Athens became crowded, were used as shops and private dwellings.

CHAPTER XXI

THE AGE OF PERICLES[1]

(445–431 B.C.)

236. General Character of the Period. The fourteen years immediately following the Thirty Years' Truce are usually designated as the Years of Peace. During this period Athens was involved in only one short war of note. And not only was there peace throughout the empire of Athens, but also throughout the Mediterranean world. There was peace between the Eastern Greeks and the Persians, as well as between the Western Greeks and the Carthaginians. The rising city of Rome, too, was at peace with her neighbors. Thus there was peace throughout the world, as happened again four centuries later in the reign of the Roman emperor Augustus. And as that later period of peace marked the Golden Age of Rome, so did this earlier era mark the Golden Age of Athens.[2]

The epoch, as we here limit it, embraced less than the lifetime of a single generation, yet its influence upon the civilization of the world can hardly be overrated. At this time Athens was the center of the political, the artistic, and the intellectual life of the Greek world. It was a "Hellas in Hellas." During the short period defined, it nourished the youth or the maturity of more great men (among them the statesman Pericles, the artist Phidias, the historians Herodotus and Thucydides, the dramatists Sophocles and Euripides, the philosophers Anaxagoras and Socrates — men who belong not to a single people but to humanity) than have been nourished in any other period of equal length in the history of the world.

[1] This designation is a very elastic one: by it is often meant the whole period marked by the influence of Pericles, say from the assassination of the statesman Ephialtes in 461 B.C. to the death of Pericles in 429 B.C.; and again it is employed to designate the entire period of Athenian ascendancy from the battle of Platæa to the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War.

[2] Lloyd, *The Age of Pericles*, vol. ii, p. 111.

237. Pericles. Among all the distinguished men of this age Pericles stood preëminent. Such was the impression he left upon the period that it is called after him the Periclean Age. Pericles was a man of illustrious ancestry. He possessed a mind of unusual faculties enriched and refined by culture. As a boy he had seen Athens aflame at the time of the Persian invasion, and had felt the thrill and uplift of those great days. The trivial and transient things of life did not appeal to him. He never attended banquets, and never took a walk in the pleasant gardens and groves beyond the city gates, never lounged like Socrates in the marketplace, but walked straight from his home to the place of public business. He was a friend of the new Ionian culture just now becoming dominant at Athens, and delighted in the company and conversation of men of intellect and scholarship.[1] He was reserved and rarely spoke in the Ecclesia, "keeping himself," as Plutarch, quoting another, says, "like the Salaminian trireme, for great crises."[2] His lofty and impressive eloquence and severe and dignified bearing won for him the title of "the Olympian." So great was his influence that, as Thucydides asserts, under him the Athenian government was in name a democracy but in fact an autocracy — the rule of a single man. Yet Pericles' authority was simply that which genius and character justly confer. He ruled, as Plutarch puts it, by the art of persuasion. His throne was the Bema (Fig. 99).

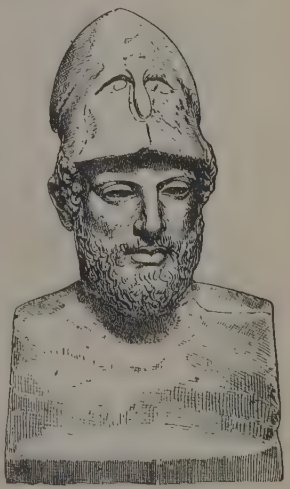


FIG. 104. PERICLES

238. The Demos. The people were at this period the source and fountain of all power. The reforms and revolutions of a century and

[1] Plutarch, *Pericles*.

[2] The *Salaminia* was a state trireme used only for important public services.

more had finally removed all restraints upon the will of the Demos,[1] and that will was now supreme. Every matter which concerned Athens and her empire was discussed and decided by the popular assembly. Never before in the history of the world had any people enjoyed such unrestricted political liberty as did the citizens of Athens at this time, and never before were any people, through so intimate a knowledge of public affairs, so well fitted to take part in the administration of government. The historian Grote gives as his opinion that the average Athenian citizen was better educated politically than the average member of the House of Commons in his day.[2] As a rule every citizen was qualified to hold public office. At all events the Athenians acted upon this assumption, as is shown by their extremely democratic practice of filling almost all the public offices by the use of the lot. Only a very few positions — and these in the army and navy, which called for special qualifications — were filled by ballot or open voting.

239. The Ecclesia. The center of the political life of Athens at this time, as at all others under the democracy, was the Ecclesia. There is nothing like this body in the world to-day except in some of the little Swiss cantons. It was not composed of representatives or delegates, but of the whole body of Athenian citizens. In the Periclean Age all Athenians over eighteen years of age were members. There were forty regular meetings during the year, and special meetings when there were urgent matters to be considered. The usual attendance at this period was probably about five thousand; during the Peloponnesian War it was difficult to get together this number. For matters of great importance, however, a quorum of six thousand was required. The regular place of meeting was, in the fifth century, the Pnyx, an open space on a low hill near the Acropolis. At a later time the assembly met in the great Theater of Dionysus. Any one, after certain officials had spoken, could address the meeting, but citizens over fifty years of age had the privilege of speaking first. Only such measures could be discussed or voted upon as had previously been drafted and laid before the meeting by the Council of Five Hundred.[3]

1 By the term *Demos* (the people) is meant the whole body of Athenian citizens.

2 Cited by Mahaffy, *What have the Greeks done for Modern Civilization?* p. 208.

3 See above, p. 184, n. 1.

If the council did not refer to them a matter that they wished to consider, they could request that body to do so. The voting was usually by show of hands, but in special matters, such, for instance, as involved the rights of a citizen, it was by ballot. One of the most important rules of the assembly was that which made the proposer of a resolution or a measure responsible for it. If it contained anything that was illegal or contrary to some existing law, he was liable to prosecution and punishment.

The Athenian Ecclesia was probably the most mentally alert popular audience that a speaker ever addressed. Every happy historical or mythological allusion, every reference, however veiled, to contemporary leaders or events, evoked instant response. And it was a critical audience withal. The merest slip in pronunciation was likely to create an uproar. Demosthenes was once noisily corrected when he chanced to mispronounce a word in one of his addresses.

240. The Limitation of Citizenship to Persons of Pure Attic Descent. We must now speak of a matter which had a most important, perhaps decisive, influence upon the fortunes of Athens. Just a few years before the opening of the period with which we are dealing, Pericles had secured the enactment of a law limiting Athenian citizenship to persons born of an Athenian father and an Athenian mother.[1]

The passing of this law marks a most significant change in the policy of the Athenian state. Up to this time Athens had been the most liberal of all the cities of Greece in the admission to citizenship of aliens or semi-aliens, and it was this liberal policy that had contributed largely to make Athens strong and to give her the imperial position she held among the states of Hellas. Aside from the formation of a federal union like the later Achæan League (sect. 301), it was the sole policy through which Athens could hope to unite into a real nation the various cities she had brought under her rule. It was the policy which Rome was just now adopting, and by steady adhesion to which she was to make of the multitude of Italian cities and tribes a great nation, and gain the dominion of the world.

[1] The ground for this piece of legislation probably was that since the rights and privileges of Athenian citizenship were becoming valuable, those possessing these rights were anxious to keep them as exclusively as possible to themselves.

Probably it was impossible for Athens to play in history the part of Rome. The feeling of the Greek for his own city was too strong. But we cannot help asking ourselves when we see Athens thus abandoning the liberal principle which had carried her so far, what might have been her future had she only steadily adhered to her earlier policy and kept her gates, as Rome did hers, wide open to strangers, and thereby kept full and strong the ranks of her citizens.

We are told that as an immediate result of the law in question almost five thousand persons were disfranchised, and the number of citizens thereby reduced to about fourteen thousand.[1]

241. Citizens are Taken into the Pay of the State. It was a fixed idea of Pericles and the other great democratic leaders of this period that in a democracy there should be not only an equal distribution of political rights among all classes but also an equalization of the means and opportunities of exercising these rights, together with an equal participation by all in social and intellectual enjoyments. By such an equalization of the privileges and pleasures of political and social life it was thought that the undue influence of the rich over the poor would be destroyed, and class envy and discord banished.

In promoting these views Pericles and his party carried to great lengths the system of payment for the most common public services. Thus just before this time or during the administration of Pericles, salaries were attached to the various civil offices, all of which were originally unpaid positions. This reform enabled the poorer citizens to offer themselves as candidates for the different magistracies, which under the earlier system, notwithstanding the provisions of the constitution, had been open, in effect, only to men of means and leisure. There was also introduced a system of payment of the citizen for serving as a juryman and for military services; hitherto the Athenian, save possibly as respects service in the fleet, had served his country in time of war without compensation. At a later period citizens were even paid for attendance at the meetings of the Ecclesia.

It was the same motives that prompted the above innovations which during the Periclean Age, or perhaps somewhat later, led to the practice of supplying all the citizens with tickets to the

[1] Plutarch, *Pericles*, xxxvii.

theater[1] and other places of amusement, and of banqueting the people on festival days at the public expense. In regard to the effect of these particular measures upon the character of the Athenian democracy we shall say a word a little farther on.

The outcome of this general policy of the democratic leaders was that before the beginning of the Peloponnesian War almost every citizen of Athens was in the pay of the state. Aristotle says that more than twenty thousand were receiving payment for one kind of service or another.[2]

242. The Dicasteries. Among the services just enumerated for which the citizen received a payment from the state was that rendered by the Athenian juryman in the great popular courts. These tribunals formed such a characteristic feature of the Athens of Pericles that we must pause here long enough to cast a glance upon them.

Each year there were chosen by lot from those Athenian citizens of thirty years of age and upwards who had volunteered for jury service six thousand persons.[3] One thousand of this number was held in reserve; the remaining five thousand were divided into ten sections of five hundred each. These divisions were called *dicasteries*, and the members *dicasts*, or jurymen. Although the full number of jurors in a dicastery was five hundred, still the usual number sitting on any given case was between two hundred and four hundred. Sometimes, however, when an important case was to be heard, the jury would number two thousand or even more.

There was an immense amount of law business brought before these courts, for they tried not only all cases arising between the citizens of Athens, but attended also to a large part of the law business of the numerous cities of Athens' great empire. All cases arising between subject cities, all cases in which an Athenian citizen

[1] The theater was rented to parties who charged for admission to cover expenses.

[2] The various classes and magistrates supported by the public funds are given as follows: 6000 dicasts, 1600 bowmen, 1200 horsemen, 500 senators, 500 harbor guards, 50 city guards, 700 domestic magistrates, 700 foreign magistrates, 2500 hoplites, 4000 sailors, the crews of 20 watch ships, 2000 sailors forming crews of ships employed in collecting tribute, together with jailers and other officers (*Athenian Constitution*, chap. 24).

[3] Collectively known as the *Heliæa*.

was interested, and finally, indeed, all important cases arising in the dependent states, were brought to Athens and heard in these courts. It is easy to see that the volume of business transacted in them must have been immense.

The pay of the juror was at first one obol per day; but later this was increased to three obols, a sum equal to about eight cents in our money. This, it seems, was sufficient to maintain an Athenian citizen of the poorer class.

When a case was to be tried, it was assigned by lot to one of the dicasteries, this method of allotment being observed in order to guard against bribery.

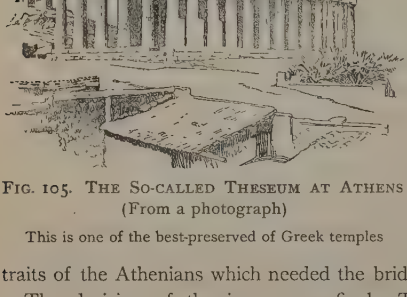


FIG. 105. THE SO-CALLED THESEUM AT ATHENS
(From a photograph)
This is one of the best-preserved of Greek temples

The average Athenian enjoyed sitting on a jury. As Lloyd says, "the occupation fell in wonderfully with his humor." The influence of the courts upon the Athenian character was far from wholesome. They fostered certain traits of the Athenians which needed the bridle rather than the goad.

The decision of the jurors was final. There was no body or council in the state to review their decision. The judgment of a dicastery was never reversed or annulled.

243. Pericles Adorns Athens with Public Buildings. "The arts follow in the wake of victory and it has ever been their loftiest task to perpetuate in lasting works great success achieved by human wisdom and valor."[1] The Periclean Age well illustrates this law. This period was marked by such a development of the arts as no other age in history has surpassed. The influences which gave such an impulse to artistic effort were felt alike by architecture, sculpture, and painting. This art movement awakened by the stirring

[1] Curtius, *History of Greece* (1902), vol. ii, p. 604.

PLATE XI. RESTORATION OF THE ACROPOLIS OF ATHENS. (By *G. Rehlender*)

events and achievements of the War of Liberation had its center in Athens, and was directed largely by Pericles. It was his idea that Athens having achieved such a position as she now held, the city should be adorned with monuments that would symbolize the power and glory of her empire, and at the same time fittingly express the nation's gratitude to the gods for the favor and protection they had vouchsafed. Nor was it difficult for him to persuade his art-loving countrymen to embellish their city with those wonderful creations which even in their ruins excite the admiration of the world and still reflect "the glory that was Greece."

The most noteworthy of the Periclean structures were grouped upon the Acropolis. Here was raised the beautiful Parthenon, sacred to the virgin goddess Athena. The architects of this building were Ictinus and Callicrates; the celebrated sculptures of the frieze and the pediments were designed by Phidias. These wonderful figures mark the perfection of Greek art. Within the temple was the celebrated ivory-and-gold statue of the goddess. Near by stood the colossal bronze statue of Athena, — made, it is said, from the spoils of Marathon, — whose glittering spear point was a beacon to the mariner sailing in from Sunium.

As a porch and gateway to the sacred inclosure of the citadel were erected the magnificent propylæa, which have served as a model for similar structures since the time of Pericles.

At the western end of the southern precipitous side of the Acropolis was constructed the Odeon, or Music Hall. This building was intended for the musical contests held in connection with the Panathenaic festivals. The roof was in imitation of the great tent of Xerxes, which was a part of the spoils of the field of Platæa. At the eastern end of this same side, just at the foot of the Acropolis, was the celebrated Theater of Dionysus, which Pericles is believed to have improved and adorned.[1]

The Athenians obtained a considerable portion of the money needed for the prosecution of their great architectural and art undertakings from the treasury of the Delian Confederacy. The allies

[1] This was not the famous stone theater; that dates from the century after Pericles. For additional details concerning the art matters here dealt with, see Chapter XXVII.

naturally declaimed bitterly against this proceeding, complaining that Athens with their money was "adorning herself as a vain woman decks her body with gay ornaments." But Pericles' answer to these charges was that the money was contributed to the end that the cities of the league should be protected against the Persians, and that so long as the Athenians kept the enemy at a distance they had a right to use the money as they pleased.

FIG. 106. THE CARYATID PORCH OF THE ERECHTHEUM. (From a photograph)

The Erechtheum was built, some time after the death of Pericles, on the site of an older temple which perished, with the other buildings on the Acropolis, at the time of the Persian invasion

244. Herodotus and History Writing. The influences which made architecture and sculpture the material embodiment of the spirit of the Periclean Age, contributed also to make history, philosophy, and the drama the spiritual expression of the epoch.

It may be truly said that in this period history had its birth, for Herodotus, "the father of history,"[1] was a contemporary of Pericles. He was a native of Halicarnassus in Asia Minor, but his home for a time was Athens, where he formed one of the brilliant company that surrounded the great statesman. And it was in this city probably that he wrote parts of his great work, the history of the Persian Wars. In the year 445 B.C., at a public festival, he read portions of it to the Athenians. It was fitting that the Athenians should hear Herodotus read his praises of them, — he praised them highly for their devotion and patriotic sacrifices in the great War of Liberation, — for "it was their deeds," as Curtius says, "that made him an

[1] The reason for giving him this title is that he was the first artist in prose.

historian, and in fact gave birth to the art of historical writing among the Hellenes in Greece."

A pleasing though unverified story connects the name of Thucydides with that of Herodotus. The tale is that Thucydides while yet a mere boy was taken by his father to one of the readings of Herodotus, and that the recitation and the accompanying applause moved the boy to tears, and to the resolve to become an historian. The story will help us to remember that though Thucydides' famous history was written in the generation following that of Pericles, still it was the influences of that brilliant age that molded the mind and inspired the genius of the great historian.

245. Anaxagoras and Socrates. Philosophy as well as history is linked with the story of Athens in the Age of Pericles. The Greek cities of Ionia were the earliest home of Greek philosophy, but at this period the fame of Athens was attracting distinguished scholars and original thinkers from all parts. The center of philosophic activity in Hellas was thus shifted from Ionia to Attica. Foremost among the immigrant Ionian philosophers was Anaxagoras (about 500–427 B.C.), the friend and teacher in philosophy of Pericles. All that we need notice here in regard to his teachings is that he represented the true scientific spirit that had been awakened in Ionia, and held views respecting oracles, omens, and the gods which were far in advance of the popular conceptions of the time.

In connection with Anaxagoras must be mentioned the name of another philosopher of world-wide fame. At the opening of the Periclean Age, Socrates, the best beloved of human teachers, had just entered young manhood. We shall meet him again later, questioning earnestly everybody whose attention he can gain on the streets, in the porticoes, and in the loitering places of Athens. Judged by spiritual standards he was a greater man than the one for whom his age is named; but, as we shall learn, his own age, aside from a few choice spirits, knew him not.

Because of some of his opinions, Socrates came, though unfairly, to be regarded as belonging to a class of teachers of uncertain reputation just now coming into prominence at Athens, and of whom we must next speak.

246. The Sophists and the New Education. The Age of Pericles witnessed a new movement in education. Up to this time the sons of well-to-do families had been taught reading, writing, music, and gymnastics. There was now a growing demand for something more than this elementary instruction. To meet this demand there came forward a class of teachers called Sophists. The aim of the higher education which they gave was to teach one how to get on in life. But to get on in Athens, or, indeed, in any other democratic Greek city, one must be able to address the popular assembly, to plead in the courts, where every man had to be his own lawyer, and, in general, to take the lead in public discussions. Hence the chief arts taught by the Sophists were rhetoric and the art of speaking. They themselves as a class were wonderfully ready speakers, and thus they taught by example as well as by precept. Their lecture-rooms were crowded with eager listeners and enthusiastic admirers, young and old.

These new teachers were men who had come under the influence of the new Ionian philosophy, which was skeptical in its tendencies. They scoffed at many ancestral usages, rejected the creed of the masses, and said things that tended to unsettle the religious faith of the young. Hence they were looked upon askance by old-fashioned and pious folk. It was this feeling of distrust and dislike which they awakened that contributed, as we shall see later, to one of the saddest tragedies in the history of Athens — the condemnation to death by the Athenians of the philosopher Socrates (sect. 266).

But, on the other hand, there is much to be placed to the credit of these teachers. Thus for one thing the attention they as rhetoricians gave to the form of expression made the Athenian speech the most perfect that was ever formed on the lips of men. The exquisite perfection of language and style of Thucydides, Demosthenes, and Plato owes much to the Sophists.[1]

247. The Attic Drama. A more effective agency of the higher education than the Sophists were the dramatists. The Attic drama was the supreme embodiment of the spirit of the Age of Pericles. By the opening of the epoch it was already a great creation. From

[1] Croiset, *History of Greek Literature* (1904), p. 283.

the energies awakened by the War of Liberation it had received an impulse which had hurried it forward to a wonderful perfection. It was represented by the powerful tragedies of Æschylus, who belonged to the preceding age. It was his genius that incited the genius of Sophocles (496–406 B.C.), the true representative of the Periclean drama.

We should also note that it was under the influences of the Periclean Age that the powers of the third great Attic tragedian, Euripides, and those of the famous writer of comedy, Aristophanes, were ripening.[1] It was, however, the intellectual and social tendencies of the following epoch that they represented.

248. Strength and Weakness of the Athenian Empire. We must now resume our narrative of events. And first we cast a glance upon the empire Athens had created, in order to note in what measure it was prepared for the test of stability it was soon to undergo. Under Pericles Athens had become the most powerful naval state in the world. In one of his last speeches (sect. 251), made soon after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War, in which he recounts the resources of the Athenian Empire, Pericles says to his fellow-citizens: "There is not now a king, there is not any nation in the universal world, able to withstand that navy which at this juncture you can launch out to sea."

And this was no empty boast. The Ægean in truth had become an Athenian lake. Its islands and coast lands, together with the Hellespontine region, formed virtually an Athenian empire. The revenue ships of Athens collected tribute from more than two hundred Greek cities. It seemed almost as though the union of the cities of Hellas was to be effected on an imperial basis through the energy and achievements of the Athenians.

But the most significant feature of this new imperial power was the remarkable combination of material and intellectual resources which it exhibited. Never before had there been such a union of the material and the intellectual elements of civilization at the seat

[1] Euripides (480–406 B.C.); Aristophanes (450–385 B.C.). For further biographical facts of the philosophers and writers mentioned in the above paragraphs, and for some comments on their works, see Chapters XXVIII and XXIX.

of empire.[1] Literature and art had been carried to the utmost perfection possible to human genius.

But there were elements of weakness in the splendid imperial structure. The Athenian Empire was destined to be short-lived because the principles upon which it rested were in opposition to the deepest instinct of the Greek race — to that sentiment of local patriotism which invested each individual city with political sovereignty (sect. 155). Athens had disregarded this feeling. Pericles himself acknowledged that in the hands of the Athenians sovereignty had run into a sort of tyranny. The so-called confederates were the subjects of Athens. To her they paid tribute. To her courts they were dragged for trial.[2] Naturally the subject cities of her empire — that is, the patriotic or home-rule party in these dependent states — regarded Athens as the destroyer of Hellenic liberties, and watched impatiently for the first favorable moment to revolt and throw off the yoke that she had imposed upon them. Hence the Athenian Empire rested upon a foundation of sand.

Had Athens, instead of enslaving her confederates of the Delian League, only been able to find some way of retaining them as allies in an equal union, — a great and perhaps impossible task under the then existing conditions of the Hellenic world, — as head of the federated Greek race she might have secured for Hellas the sovereignty of the Mediterranean, and the history of Rome might have ended with the first century of the republic.

Illustrations of the weakness as well as of the strength of the Athenian Empire will be afforded by the great struggle between Athens and Sparta known as the Peloponnesian War, the causes and chief incidents of which we shall next rehearse.

1 "The average ability of the Athenian race [was], on the lowest possible estimate, very nearly two grades higher than our own; that is, about as much as our race is above that of the African negro. This estimate, which may seem prodigious to some, is confirmed by the quick intelligence and high culture of the Athenian commonalty, before whom literary works were recited, and works of art exhibited of a far more severe character than could possibly be appreciated by the average of our race, the calibre of whose intellect is easily gauged by a glance at the contents of a railway bookstall." — GALTON, *Hereditary Genius* (2d Am. ed., 1887), p. 342; quoted by Kidd, *Social Evolution*, chap. ix.

2 The subject cities were allowed to maintain only their lower courts of justice; all cases of importance, as we have seen (sect. 242), were carried to Athens, and there decided in the Attic tribunals.

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Pericles*. THUCYDIDES, ii, 65 (on the character of Pericles). Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 268–293; Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 207–215; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 159–172.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vol. ii, pp. 460–641. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. iv, pp. 438–533. ABBOTT, vol. iii, chaps. i, ii. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. xv–xx. BURY, *History of Greece*, chap. ix. COX, *The Athenian Empire* and *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Ephialtes" and "Perikles." LLOYD, *The Age of Pericles*, vol. ii, chaps. xli, xlii. BUTLER, *The Story of Athens*, chap. vii. ABBOTT, *Pericles and the Golden Age of Athens*, chaps. x–xviii. GRANT, *Greece in the Age of Pericles*, chaps. vii, viii, xii. MAHAFFY, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, chap. v. COTTERILL, *Ancient Greece*, chap. vi.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The public buildings of Athens: Reinach, *Apollo*, chap. vi; Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology*, pp. 144–150, 155–157. 2. "A Day in Athens": Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chaps. vi, vii; Blümner, *The Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. v, pp. 179–201. 3. Trades and manufactures: Gulick, *The Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xviii, pp. 227–238. 4. Various classes of the population: Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. iv. 5. Civic duties of citizens: Gulick, *Life of the Ancient Greeks*, chap. xvi. 6. Private dwellings and furniture: Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. v. 7. Religion of the average Athenian: Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xi. 8. The things seen in a walk about your own city which remind you of the contributions of Greece to our civilization.

CHAPTER XXII

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR; THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

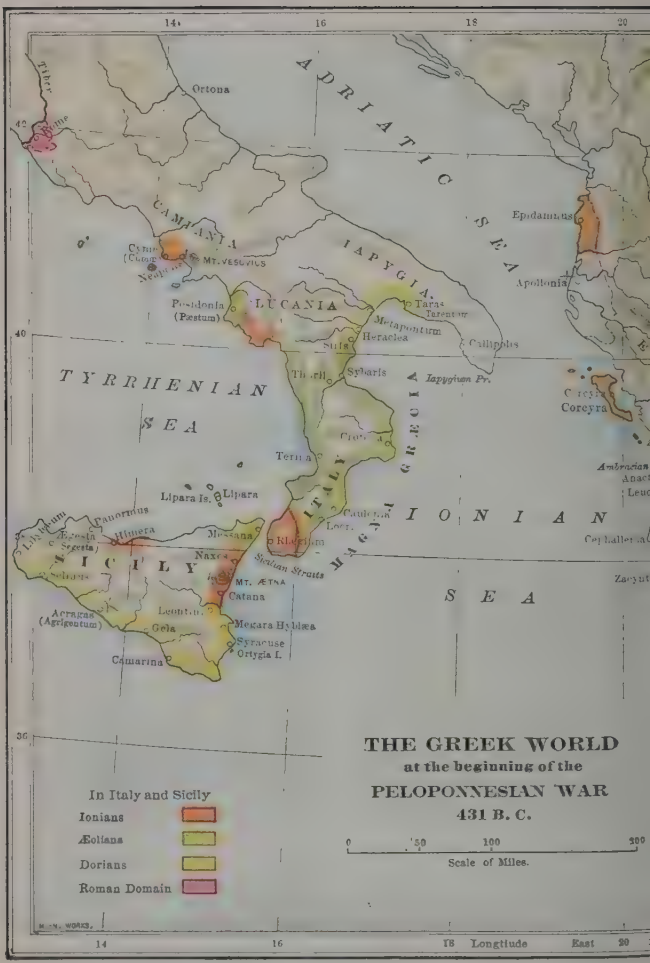
I. THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR (431–404 B.C.)

249. The Immediate Causes of the War. Before the end of the life of Pericles the growing jealousy between Ionian Athens on the one hand and Dorian Sparta and her allies on the other broke out in the long and calamitous struggle known as the Peloponnesian War. Pericles had foreseen the coming storm: "I descry war," he said, "lowering from the Peloponnesus."

One immediate cause of the war was the interference of Athens, on the side of the Corcyræans, in a quarrel between them and their mother city Corinth. The real root of this trouble between Corinth and Corcyra was mercantile rivalry. Both were enterprising commercial cities, and both wished to control the trade of the islands and the coast towns of Western Greece. The motive of the Athenians for interesting themselves in this quarrel between mother and daughter was to prevent any accession to the naval power of Corinth by her possible acquisition of the fleet of the Corcyræans, and to make sure of Corcyra as an important station and watch post on the route to Italy.

The second immediate cause of the war was the blockade of Potidæa, in Chalcidice, by the Athenians. This was a Corinthian colony, but it was a member of the Delian League, and was now being chastised by Athens for attempted secession. Corinth, as the ever-jealous naval rival of Athens, had endeavored to lend aid to her daughter, but had been worsted in an engagement with the Athenians.

With affairs in this shape, Corinth, seconded by other states that had causes of complaint against Athens, appealed to Sparta, as the head of the Dorian alliance, for aid and justice. The Spartans, after


THE GREEK WORLD
at the beginning of the
PELOPONNESIAN WAR
431 B. C.
In Italy and Sicily
Ionians
Æolians
Dorians
Roman Domain
0
50
100
200
Scale of Miles.
ADRIATIC SEA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
IONIAN SEA
CAMPANIA
IAPYGIA
LUCANIA
ITALY
MAGNA GRÆCIA
SICILY
Ortona
Rome
Tiber
Cyme (Cumæ)
Neapolis
MT. VESUVIUS
Posidonia (Pæstum)
Taras
Tarentum
Metapontum
Heraclea
Siris
Callipolis
Epidamnus
Apollonia
Thurii
Sybaris
Iapygium Pr.
Corcyra
Terina
Lipara Is.
Lipara
Panormus
Himera
Segesta
Messana
Rhegium
Naxos
Sicilian Straits
MT. ÆTNA
Catana
Leontini
Gela
Megara Hyblæa
Syracuse
Ortygia I.
Camarina
Acragas (Agrigentum)
Ambracian
Anact
Leuc
Cephallenia
Zacynt
14
16
18
20
40
36
Longitude East

22
24
26
28
42
40
38
36
THRACE
MACEDONIA
Pella
Thermia
Methone
Pydna
Potidæa
CHALCIDICE
Olynthus
Acanthus
Amphipolis
Thasos
Samothracia
Imbros
Hellespont
Chersonesus
Ægospotami
Lampsacus
Abydos
Selymbria
Byzantium
Perinthus
Chalcedon
Propontis
Cyzicus
Mende
Scione
Torone
Lemnos
MT. OLYMPUS
MT. OSSA
MT. PELION
Larissa
THESSALY
Pharsalus
ÆGEAN
SEA
Soyros
Methymna
Lesbos
Mytilene
Argiuasæ Is.
Phocæa
Antandrus
Pergamus
Magnesia
Sardis
Clazomenæ
Colophon
Ephesus
Samos
Chios
Andros
Tenos
Ceos
Cythnos
Syros
Delos
Paros
Naxos
Amorgos
Siphnos
Melos
Thera
Cos
Miletus
MT. MYCALE
Halicarnassus
Lindus
Rhodes
Carpathus
Cythera
Sparta
LACONIA
MESSENIA
Pylos
Hermion
Trezen
Eglus
Corinth
Megara
Chalcis
Eretria
Decelea
Athens
ATTICA
Thebes
Plataea
Chaeronea
Delphi
Lepanto
ETOLIA
ACHAEA
ARCADIA
Tegea
Mantinea
Thyrea
Ithome
Pylos
Cyrene
Cydonia
CRETE
Gortyna
Mt. Ida
Chossus
Meander R.
Mt. Ida
Greenwich
In Greece and Asia Minor
Athens and her Allies
Sparta and her Allies
Authorities.
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus
C. Rinaudo, Atlante Storico

listening to the deputies of both sides, decided that the Athenians had been guilty of injustice, and declared for war. The resolution of the Spartans was indorsed by the Peloponnesian Confederation, and apparently approved by the Delphic oracle, which, in response to an inquiry of the Spartans as to what would be the issue of the proposed undertaking, assured them that "they would gain the victory, if they fought with all their might."

250. The Peloponnesians Ravage Attica (431 B.C.). A Peloponnesian army was soon collected at the Isthmus, ready for a campaign against Athens. With invasion imminent, the inhabitants of the hamlets and scattered farmhouses of Attica abandoned their homes and sought shelter behind the defenses of the capital. Into the plain thus deserted the Peloponnesians marched, and ravaged the country far and near. From the walls of the city the Athenians could see the flames of their burning houses, which recalled to the old men the sight they had witnessed from the island of Salamis just forty-nine years before, at the time of the Persian invasion. The failure of provisions finally compelled the Peloponnesians to withdraw from the country, and the contingents of the different cities scattered to their homes.

251. Funeral Oration of Pericles.[1] It was the custom of the Athenians to bury with public and imposing ceremonies the bodies of those who fell in battle. In the funeral procession the bones of the dead of each tribe were borne in a single chest on a litter, while an empty litter covered with a pall was carried for those whose bodies had not been recovered. The remains were laid in the public cemetery, outside the city gates. After the burial, some person chosen by his fellow-citizens on account of his special fitness for the service delivered an oration over the dead, extolling their deeds and exhorting the living to an imitation of their virtues.

[1] Respecting the speeches which Thucydides introduces so frequently in his narrative, he himself says: "As to the speeches which were made either before or during the war, it was hard for me, and for others who reported them to me, to recollect the exact words. I have therefore put into the mouth of each speaker the sentiments proper to the occasion, expressed as I thought he would be likely to express them, while at the same time I endeavored, as nearly as I could, to give the general purport of what was actually said" (Thucydides, Jowett's trans., i, 15). To insert in their text made-up speeches was the practice of all the ancient historians. Concerning the custom, the historian Polybius (xii, 25 *i*) says: "To select from time to time the proper and appropriate language is a necessary part of our art."

It was during the winter following the campaign we have described that the Athenians celebrated the funeral ceremonies of those who had fallen thus far in the war. Pericles was chosen to give the oration on this occasion. This funeral speech, as reported by Thucydides, is one of the most valuable memorials preserved to us from antiquity. All the circumstances under which the oration was pronounced lent to it a peculiar and pathetic interest.

The speaker took advantage of the occasion to describe the institutions to which Athens owed her greatness, and to picture the glories of the imperial city for which the heroes they lamented had died. He first spoke of the fathers from whom they had inherited their institutions of freedom, and their great empire, and then passed on to speak of the character and spirit of those institutions through which Athens had risen to power and greatness. The Athenian government, he said, was a democracy; for all the citizens, rich and poor alike, participated in its administration. There was freedom of intercourse and of action among the citizens, each doing as he liked; and yet there was a spirit of reverence and of respect for law. Numerous festivals and games furnished amusement and relaxation from toil for all citizens. Life in the great city was more enjoyable than elsewhere, being enriched by fruits and goods from all the world.

The speaker praised, too, Athens' military system, in which the citizen was not sacrificed to the soldier, as at Sparta; and yet Athens was alone a match for Sparta and all her allies. He extolled the intellectual, moral, and social virtues of the Athenians, which were fostered by their free institutions, and declared their city to be "the school of Hellas" and the model for all other cities.

* A bas-relief recently excavated on the Acropolis of Athens. Dr. Charles Waldstein thinks that this sculpture may "have headed an inscription containing the names of those who had fallen in battle, which record was placed in some public spot in Athens or on the Acropolis. Our Athene-Nike would then be standing in the attitude of mourning, with reversed spear, gazing down upon the tombstone which surmounts the grave of her brave sons." As to the possible connection of this relief with the funeral oration of Pericles, Dr. Waldstein says: "Though I do not mean to say that the inscription which it surmounted referred immediately to those who had fallen in the campaign of 431 B.C., I still feel that the most perfect counterpart in literature is the famous funeral oration of Pericles as recorded by Thucydides."

PLATE XII. THE MOURNING ATHENA.* (From a photograph)

Continuing, the speaker declared that Athens alone of all existing cities was greater than the report of her in the world; and that she would never need a Homer to perpetuate her memory, because she herself had set up everywhere eternal monuments of her greatness. "Such is the city," he exclaimed impressively, "for whose sake these men nobly fought and died; they could not bear the thought that she might be taken from them; and every one of us who survive should gladly toil on her behalf."

Then followed words of tribute to the valor and self-devotion of the dead, whose sepulchers and inscriptions were not the graves and the memorial stones of the cemetery — "for the whole earth is the sepulcher of famous men," and the memorials of them are "graven not on stone but in the hearts of mankind." Finally, with words of comfort for the relatives of the dead, the orator dismissed the assembly to their homes.[1]

"Thus did Pericles' represent to the Athenian citizens the nature of their state, and picture to them what Athens should be. Their better selves he held before them, in order to strengthen them and to lift them above themselves, and to inspire in them self-devotion and constancy and bravery. With new courage turned they from the graves of the fallen to their homes, and went forward to meet whatever destiny the gods might have ordained" (Curtius).

That funeral day was, indeed, one of the great days in ancient Athens.

252. The Plague at Athens (430 B.C.); the Death of Pericles (429 B.C.). Very soon had the Athenians need to exercise all those virtues which the orator had admonished them to cherish; for upon the return of the next campaigning season the Peloponnesians, having mustered again two thirds of all their fighting forces, broke once more into Attica and ravaged the land anew, giving to the flames such villages and farmhouses as had escaped destruction the previous year.

The walls of Athens were unassailable by the hostile army; but unfortunately they were no defense against a more terrible foe. A pestilence broke out in the crowded city and added its horrors

[1] See Thucydides, ii, 35–46, for the whole oration.

to the already unbearable calamities of war. The mortality was frightful. One fourth of the population of the city was swept away.

In the third year of the war the plague reappeared at Athens. Pericles, who had been the very soul and life of Athens during all these dark days, fell a victim to the disease. The plague had previously robbed him of his sister and his two sons. The death of his younger son Paralus, the last of his family, had bowed him in grief, and as he laid the usual funeral wreath upon the head of the dead boy, for the first time in his life, it is said, he gave way to his feelings in a passionate outburst of tears. In dying, the great statesman is reported to have said that he regarded his best title to honored remembrance to be that "he had never caused an Athenian to put on mourning."[1]

After the death of Pericles the leadership of affairs at Athens fell to a great degree into the hands of demagogues. The mob element got control of the Ecclesia, so that hereafter we shall find many of its measures marked neither by virtue nor by wisdom.

253. The Cruel Character of the War: the Athenians Wreak Vengeance upon the Mytileneans, and the Spartans upon the Platæans. On both sides the war was waged with the utmost vindictiveness and cruelty. Thus in the year 428 B.C. the city of Mytilene, on the island of Lesbos, revolted from the Athenians. With the rebellion suppressed, the fate of the Mytileneans was in the hands of the Athenian assembly. Cleon, a rash and violent leader of the democratic party, proposed that all the men of the place, six thousand in number, should be slain, and the women and children sold as slaves. This infamous decree was passed and a galley dispatched bearing the sentence to the Athenian general at Mytilene for execution.

By the next morning, however, the Athenians had repented of their hasty resolution. A second meeting of the assembly was hurriedly called, the barbarous vote was repealed, and a swift trireme, bearing the reprieve, set out in anxious haste to overtake the former galley, which had twenty-four hours the start. The trireme reached the island just in time to prevent the carrying out of the cruel edict.

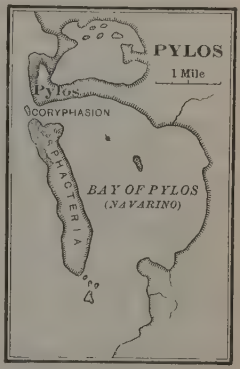
The second resolution of the Athenians, though more discriminating than the first decree, was quite severe enough. The leaders of the

[1] Plutarch, *Pericles*, xxxviii.

revolt were put to death, the walls of the city were torn down, and the larger part of the lands of the island was given to citizens of Athens.[1]

Still more unrelenting and cruel were the Spartans. In the summer of the same year that the Athenians wreaked such vengeance upon the Mytileneans, the Spartans and their allies captured the city of Platæa, put to death all the men, sold the women as slaves, and turned the site of the city into pasture land.

254. The Surrender of a Spartan Force; the Significance of this. Soon after the affair at Mytilene and the destruction of Platæa, an enterprising general of the Athenians, named Demosthenes, seized and fortified a point of land (Pylos) on the coast of Messenia. The Spartans made every effort to dislodge the enemy. In the course of the siege some Lacedæmonians, having landed upon an adjacent little island (Sphacteria), were so unfortunate as to be cut off from the mainland by the sudden arrival of an Athenian fleet. After having made a splendid fight, they were completely surrounded and hopelessly outnumbered. They must now either surrender or die. They decided to surrender. Among those giving themselves up were over a hundred Spartans, some of whom were members of the best families at Sparta.



The surrender of Spartan soldiers had hitherto been deemed an incredible thing. "Nothing which happened during the war," declares Thucydides, "caused greater amazement in Hellas; for it was universally imagined that the Lacedæmonians would never give up their arms, either under the pressure of famine or in any other extremity, but would fight to the last and die sword in hand."

The real significance of the affair was the revelation it made of the relaxing at Sparta of that tense military discipline which had given

[1] These settlers were cleruchs (p. 163, n. 1). They did not cultivate with their own hands the lands received; these were tilled by the native Lesbians, who paid the new proprietors a fixed rent.

the Spartans such a place and reputation in the Hellenic world. It was the beginning of the end. In passing from Thermopylæ to Pylos we cross a great divide in Spartan history.

255. The Peace of Nicias (421 B.C.). After four more years of fighting both sides became weary of the war. Negotiations for peace were opened, which, after many embassies back and forth, resulted in what is known as the Peace of Nicias, because of the prominent part that Athenian general had in bringing it about. The treaty provided for a truce of fifty years.

The Peace of Nicias was only a nominal one. Some of the allies of the two principal parties to the truce were dissatisfied with it, and so the war went on. For about seven years, however, Athens and Sparta refrained from invading each other's territory; but even during this period each was aiding its allies in making war upon the dependents or confederates of the other. Finally, hostilities flamed out in open and avowed war, and all Hellas was again lit up with the fires of the fratricidal strife.

256. The Fall of Melos (416 B.C.). The matter that especially arrests our attention in the first five years of the renewed war was the seizure by the Athenians of the island of Melos. This pleasant island, which is one of the most westerly of the Cyclades, was the only island in the Ægean, with the exception of Thera, which was not at this time included in the Athenian Empire. The Athenians determined to take possession of it. So they sent an expedition to the island, and commanded the Melians to acknowledge at once the suzerainty of Athens. The demand, if we may here trust Thucydides' account, was based on no other ground than Athenian imperial interests and the right of the strong to rule the weak. "For of the gods we believe," — thus Thucydides makes the Athenian envoys speak, — "and of men we know, that by a law of their nature wherever they can rule they will. This law was not made by us, and we are not the first who have acted upon it; we did but inherit it, and shall bequeath it to all time."[1]

The Melians, relying on the righteousness of their cause and the help of their Lacedæmonian kinsmen, refused to surrender, at the

[1] Thucydides (Jowett's trans.), v, 105.

bidding of Athens, their independence, which, according to their traditions, they had enjoyed for seven centuries.

So the city of Melos was blockaded by sea and beset by land, and in a few months, neither the gods nor the Lacedæmonians bringing help, the whole island was in the hands of the Athenians. All the men were at once put to death, and the women and children sold into slavery. The island was then repopulated by settlers sent out from Athens.[1]

257. Alcibiades. It becomes necessary for us here to introduce a new leader of the Athenian Demos, Alcibiades, who played a most conspicuous part, not only in Athenian but also in Hellenic affairs, from this time on to near the close of the war. Alcibiades was a young man of noble lineage and of aristocratic associations. He was versatile, brilliant, and resourceful, but unscrupulous, reckless, and profligate. He was a pupil of Socrates, but he failed to follow the counsels of his teacher. His astonishing escapades kept all Athens talking; in truth, Plutarch says that he did outrageous things just to give the Athenians something to gossip about. Yet these things seemed only to attach the people more closely to him, for he possessed all those personal traits which make men popular idols. His influence over the democracy was unlimited. He was able to carry through the Ecclesia almost any measure that it pleased him to advocate.

FIG. 107. ALCIBIADES

The more prudent of the Athenians were filled with apprehension for the future of the state under such guidance. The noted misanthrope Timon gave expression to this feeling when, after Alcibiades

[1] Doubtless Thucydides in making the story of this crime the prelude to his account of the Sicilian Expedition (sect. 258) would have his readers see in the arrogant and wicked conduct of the Athenians and the awful disaster that befell them in Sicily a striking illustration of the workings of the law of Nemesis (sect. 342).

had secured the assent of the popular assembly to one of his impolitic measures, he said to him: "Go on, my brave boy, and prosper; for your prosperity will bring on the ruin of all this crowd." And it did, as we shall see.[1]

258. Debate on the Sicilian Expedition. The most prosperous enterprise of Alcibiades, in the Timonian sense, was the inciting of the Athenians to undertake an expedition against the Dorian city of Syracuse, in Sicily. The resolution to engage in the tremendous enterprise seems to have been taken lightly by the Athenians, which was quite in keeping with their usual way of doing things; but a few days after their first vote, a second meeting of the Ecclesia having been called for the purpose of making arrangements for the equipment of the armament, Nicias, who was opposed to the undertaking, tried to persuade the people to reconsider their original vote and give up the project. This opened the flood gates of a regular Athenian debate.

Nicias stated the reasons why he thought the proposed expedition should be abandoned. His first point was that the situation at home — with the cities of the Thracian shore in open and unpunished revolt, and with other subject cities watching for a favorable moment to rebel — was such as to render it very unwise for them to send so far away a large part of their fighting force. The Athenians should secure well their present empire before attempting to conquer a new one in the Western world.

Nicias also reminded the Athenians that there were still great unfilled gaps in their ranks made by the plague and by a war that had known scarcely any real intermission during sixteen years. The finances of the state, too, needed to be husbanded.

The speaker then proceeded to pay his attention to Alcibiades, who was the real instigator of the whole movement. He appealed to the citizens of experience and mature judgment not to allow grave public affairs to be thus toyed with by this harebrained youth, and those like him, with whom he had filled the benches of the assembly. He appealed to them, by a fearless raising of their hands, to avert from Athens the greatest danger that had ever threatened the city.[2]

[1] Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, xvi. [2] See Thucydides, vi, 9–14, for the entire speech.

This speech of Nicias summarizes the arguments that should have weighed with the Athenians in deterring them from embarking in the hazardous undertaking that they had in mind. But from the speeches that followed, and their reception by the assembly, it was evident that the veteran general had not carried his audience with him. He was supported by a few speakers, but the most of the assembly opposed his conservative policy.

The leader of the war party, as has already appeared, was Alcibiades. He made himself the mouthpiece of his party, and replied to Nicias in a violent and demagogic speech, which he closed by telling the Athenians that if they wished to rule, instead of being ruled, they must maintain that enterprising and aggressive policy that had won for them their empire. To adopt Nicias' policy of inaction and indolent repose was simply to give up their imperial position. Let old and young unite, he said, in lifting Athens to a yet greater height of power and glory. With Sicily conquered, the Athenians would without doubt become lords of the whole Hellenic world.

Alcibiades evidently had the ear of the meeting. Nicias perceived this, and realizing that to address arguments to the understanding of the people in their present martial mood would be useless, changed his tactics, and in a second speech strove to frighten them from the undertaking by dwelling upon the size and expense of the armament they must place at the disposal of their generals.

This speech produced just the opposite effect upon the meeting from that which Nicias had hoped. The vastness of the enterprise, the magnificent proportions of the armament needed, as pictured by Nicias, seemed to captivate the imagination of the Athenians, and they were more eager than ever to embark in the undertaking. The expedition further presented itself to the ardent imagination of the youth as a sort of pleasure and sight-seeing excursion among the wonders of the land of the "Far West." Those who had no mind of their own in the matter or who were opposed to the undertaking were carried away or were silenced by the enthusiasm of the others; and so it came about that, almost without a dissenting voice, the assembly voted for the expedition.

259. The Departure of the Expedition from the Piræus (415 B.C.). The day of the departure of the Athenian fleet[1] from the Piræus was one of the great days in ancient Athens. It was yet early morning when the soldiers and sailors poured down from the upper city into the harbor town and began to man the ships. "The entire population of Athens," says Thucydides, who must have been an eyewitness of the stirring scene which he describes, "accompanied them, citizens and strangers alike, to witness an enterprise of which the greatness exceeded belief." Prayers having been offered and libations made to the gods, the pæan was raised, and the ships put out to sea.[2]

Anxiously did those remaining behind watch the departing ships until they were lost to sight. Could the anxious watchers have foreseen the fate of the splendid armament, their anxiety would have passed into despair: "Athens itself was sailing out of the Piræus, never to return."

260. The Recall of Alcibiades; he Flees to Sparta and "Plays the Traitor." Scarcely had the expedition arrived at Sicily when Alcibiades, who was one of the generals in command of the armament, was summoned back to Athens to answer a charge of impiety.[3] Fearing to trust himself in the hands of his enemies at Athens, he fled to Sparta, and there, by traitorous counsel, did all in his power to ruin the very expedition he had planned.

The surest way, Alcibiades told the Spartans, in which to wreck the plans of the Athenians was to send to Sicily at once a force of heavy-armed men, and above all a good Spartan general, who alone would be worth a whole army. The Spartans acted upon the advice given them by Alcibiades. They sent to Sicily their ablest general, Gylippus, with instructions to push the war there with the utmost vigor.

261. Sad Plight of the Athenians before Syracuse; the Fatal Eclipse; the Retreat; the End of the Tragedy (413 B.C.). The affairs of the Athenians in Sicily at just this time were prospering greatly. But the arrival of Gylippus changed everything at once. After some

[1] It consisted of 134 costly triremes, bearing 36,000 soldiers and sailors.

[2] Thucydides, vi, 32.

[3] Just upon the eve of the departure of the expedition, the statues of Hermes scattered throughout the city were grossly mutilated. Alcibiades was accused of having had a hand in the affair, and furthermore of having mimicked certain sacred rites.

severe fighting in which the Athenians lost heavily, they resolved to withdraw their forces from the island while retreat by the sea was still open to them.

Just as the ships were about to weigh anchor, there occurred an eclipse of the moon. This portent caused the greatest consternation among the Athenian troops. Nicias unfortunately was a man who had full faith in omens and divination. He sought now the advice, not of his colleagues, but of his soothsayers. They pronounced the portent to be an unfavorable one, and advised that the retreat be delayed thirty-seven days.

Never did a reliance upon omens more completely undo a people. The salvation of the Athenians depended absolutely upon their immediate retreat. The delay prescribed by the diviners was fatal. It seems the irony of fate that the Athenians, who more than any other people of antiquity had learned to depend in the management of their affairs upon their own intelligence and judgment, should perish through a superstitious regard for omens and divination.

Further disaster and a failure of provisions finally convinced the Athenians that they must without longer delay fight their way out by sea or by land. An attempt to fight their way out of the harbor failed dismally. There was now no course open save retreat by land. Making such preparations as they could for their march, they set out. "They were," says Thucydides, whose words alone can picture the distress of the scene, "in a dreadful condition: indeed they seemed not like an army, but like the fugitive population of a city captured after a siege; and of a great city, too; for the multitude who were marching numbered not less than forty thousand."

Pursued and harassed by the Syracusans, the fleeing multitude was practically annihilated. Only a few escaped. The prisoners, about seven thousand in number, were crowded in deep, open stone quarries around Syracuse, in which prison pens hundreds soon died of exposure and starvation. Most of the wretched survivors were finally sold into slavery. The unfortunate generals Nicias and Demosthenes were both put to death.

The tragedy of the Sicilian expedition was now ended. Two centuries were to pass before Sicily was again to become the arena

of transactions equally significant for universal history. Then another imperial city was to seek in Sicily, with the fates more propitious, the path to universal dominion.

262. The Decelean War; the Fall of Athens (404 B.C.). While the Athenians were before Syracuse, the Spartans, acting upon the advice of Alcibiades, had taken possession of and fortified a strong and commanding position known as Decelea, in Attica, only fourteen miles from Athens. This was a thorn in the side of Athens. Secure in this stronghold, the Spartans could annoy and keep in terror almost all the Attic plain. The occupation by the Spartans of this strategic point had such a determining influence upon the remainder of the Peloponnesian War that this latter portion of it is known as the Decelean War (413–404 B.C.).

With most admirable courage the Athenians, after the great disaster in Sicily, set to work to retrieve their seemingly irretrievable fortune. Forgetting and forgiving the past, they recalled Alcibiades and gave him command of the army, thereby well illustrating what the poet Aristophanes said of their disposition towards the spoiled favorite — "They love, they hate, but cannot live without him."

Alcibiades gained some splendid victories for Athens. But he could not undo the evil he had done. He had ruined Athens beyond redemption by any human power. The struggle grew more and more hopeless. Alcibiades was defeated, and, fearing to face the Athenians, who had deposed him from his command, sought safety in flight.[1]

Finally, at Ægospotami, on the Hellespont, the Athenian fleet was surprised and captured by the Spartan general Lysander (405 B.C.). The native Athenians, to the number of four thousand, it is said, were put to death, the usual rites of burial being denied their bodies. Among the few Athenian vessels that escaped capture was the state ship *Paralus*, which hastened to Athens with the tidings of the terrible misfortune. It arrived in the nighttime, and from the Piræus the awful news, published by a despairing wail, spread up the Long Walls into the upper city. "That night," says Xenophon, "no one slept."

[1] Some years later he was killed in Asia Minor.

Besieged by sea and land, Athens was soon forced to surrender. Some of the allies insisted upon a total destruction of the city. The Spartans, however, with apparent magnanimity, declared that they would never consent thus "to put out one of the eyes of Greece." The real motive of the Spartans in sparing the city was their fear lest, with Athens blotted out, Thebes or Corinth should become too powerful, and the leadership of Sparta be thereby endangered. The final resolve was that the lives of the Athenians should be spared, but that they should be required to demolish their Long Walls and those of the Piræus, to give up all their ships save twelve, and to bind themselves to do Sparta's bidding by sea and land.

The Athenians were forced to surrender on these hard conditions. Straightway the victors dismantled the harbor at Piræus, burning the unfinished ships on the docks, and then began the demolition of the Long Walls and the fortifications, the work going on to the accompaniment of festive music and dancing; for the Peloponnesians, says Xenophon, looked upon that day as the beginning of liberty for the Hellenes.

The long war was now over. The dominion of the imperial city of Athens was at an end, and the great days of Greece were past.

263. The Results of the War. "Never," says Thucydides, commenting upon the results of the Peloponnesian War, "never were so many cities captured and depopulated. . . . Never were exile and slaughter more frequent, whether in the war or brought about by civil strife." Greece never recovered from the blow which had destroyed so large a part of her population.

Athens was merely the wreck of her former self. The harbor of Piræus, once crowded with ships, was now empty. The population of the capital had been terribly thinned. Things were just the reverse now of what they were at the time of the Persian invasion, when, with Athens in ruins, Themistocles at Salamis, taunted with being a man without a city, could truthfully declare that Athens was there on the sea in her ships. Now the real Athens was gone; only the empty shell remained.

Not Athens alone, but all Hellas, bore the marks of the cruel war. Sites once covered with pleasant villages or flourishing towns were

now plough and pasture land. The Greek world had sunk many degrees in morality, while the vigor and productiveness of the intellectual and artistic life of Hellas were impaired beyond recovery. The achievements of the Greek intellect in the century following the war were, it is true, wonderful; but these triumphs merely show, we may believe, what the Hellenic mind would have done for art and general culture had it been permitted, unchecked, and under the favoring and inspiring conditions of liberty and self-government, to disclose all that was latent in it.

II. THE SPARTAN AND THE THEBAN SUPREMACY

264. Character of the Spartan Supremacy. For just one generation following the Peloponnesian War (404–371 B.C.), Sparta held the leadership of the Greek states. Throughout that struggle she had maintained that her only purpose in warring against Athens was to regain for the Greek cities the liberty of which Athens had deprived them. But no sooner was the power of Athens broken than Sparta herself began to play the tyrant. Aristocratic governments, with institutions similar to the Spartan, were established in the different cities of the old Athenian Empire. At Athens the democratic constitution under which the Athenians had attained their greatness was abolished, and an oppressive oligarchy established in its stead. The Thirty Tyrants, however, who administered this government, were, after eight months' infamous rule, driven from the city, and the old democratic constitution, somewhat modified, was reëstablished (403 B.C.).

265. The Expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (401–400 B.C.). One of the most memorable episodes of this period of Spartan supremacy was the famous expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks. Cyrus, brother of the Persian king Artaxerxes II, and satrap in Asia Minor, feeling that he had been unjustly excluded from the throne by his brother, secretly planned to dethrone him. From various quarters he gathered an army of over one hundred thousand barbarians and about thirteen thousand Greek mercenaries under the lead of a Spartan named Clearchus, and set out on the undertaking.

The march of the expedition through Asia Minor and across the Mesopotamian plains was unimpeded by the Persians, and Cyrus had penetrated to the very heart of the Persian Empire before, at Cunaxa in Babylonia, his farther advance was disputed by Artaxerxes with an army numbering, it is said, eight hundred thousand men. In the battle which here followed, the splendid conduct of the Greeks won the day for their leader. Cyrus, however, was slain; and Clearchus and the other Grecian generals were treacherously seized and put to death.

The March of the Ten Thousand Greeks

The Greeks, in a hurried night meeting, chose new generals to lead them back to their homes. The real chief of these was Xenophon, the popular historian of the expedition. Under his direction the Greeks made one of the most memorable retreats in all history. They traversed the plains of the Tigris, and then, in the midst of the winter season, crossed the snowy passes of the mountains of Armenia. Finally, after almost incredible hardships, the head of the retreating column reached the top of a mountain ridge whence the waters of the Euxine appeared to view. A great shout, "*Thalatta! Thalatta!*" (The sea! the sea!), arose and spread back through the column, creating a tumult of joy among the soldiers, weary with their seemingly

endless marching and fighting. The Greeks had struck the sea at the spot where stood the Greek colony of Trapezus (now Trebizond), whence they finally made their way home.

The march of the Ten Thousand is regarded as one of the most remarkable military exploits of antiquity. Its historical significance is derived from the fact that it paved the way for the later expedition of Alexander the Great. This it did by revealing to the Greeks the decayed state of the Persian Empire and showing how feeble was the resistance which it could offer to the march of an army of disciplined soldiers.

266. The Condemnation and Death of Socrates (399 B.C.). While Xenophon was yet away on his expedition, there took place in his native city the tragedy to which we have already referred (sect. 246) — the trial and condemnation to death by the Athenians of their fellow-citizen Socrates, the greatest moral teacher of pagan antiquity.

The double charge upon which he was condemned was worded as follows: "Socrates is guilty of crime — first, for not worshiping the gods whom the city worships, but in introducing new divinities of his own; next, for corrupting the youth. The penalty is death."

We are surprised that such a man as Socrates should have been the object of such a prosecution in tolerant, free-thinking, and freedom-loving Athens. But his prosecutors were moved by other motives besides zeal for the national worship. Socrates during his long life — he was now an old man of seventy years — spent as an uncompromising teacher of truth and righteousness had made many personal enemies. He had exposed by his searching questions the ignorance of many a vain pretender to wisdom, and stirred up thereby many lasting resentments.

Socrates, again, had offended many through his opposition to the Athenian democracy; for he did not always approve of the way the Athenians had of doing things, and told them so plainly. He favored, for instance, the limitation of the franchise, and ridiculed the Athenian method of selecting magistrates by the use of the lot (sect. 238), as though the lot could pick out the men best fitted to govern. But the people, especially since the events of the years 404–403 B.C. (sect. 264), were very sensitive to all criticism of this kind which

tended to discredit their cherished democratic institutions. The fact that Alcibiades and Critias[1] had both been disciples of his was used to show the dangerous tendency of his teachings.

The trial was before a dicastery or citizen court (sect. 242) composed of over five hundred jurors. Socrates made no serious attempt to secure a favorable verdict from the court, steadily refusing to make any unbecoming appeal to his judges for clemency. After he had been pronounced guilty, and when called upon, according to custom, to name the penalty which he would have the court inflict,[2] he said that he thought he deserved to be supported for the rest of his life at the public expense. He finally, however, yielding to the entreaties of his friends, proposed a penalty of thirty minæ.[3] The dicasts, irritated by the words and manner of Socrates, pronounced against him by a majority vote the extreme sentence of death.

It so happened that the sentence was pronounced just after the sacred ship that yearly bore the offerings to Delos in commemoration of the deliverance of the Athenian youth from the Cretan Minotaur (sect. 140) had set sail on its holy mission, and since by a law of the city no one could be put to death while it was away, Socrates was led to prison, and there remained for about thirty days before the execution of the sentence. This period Socrates spent in serene converse with his friends upon those lofty themes that had occupied his thoughts during all his life. When at last the hour for his departure had arrived, he bade his friends farewell, and then calmly drank the cup of poison hemlock.

267. The Battle of Leuctra (371 B.C.); the End of the Spartan Supremacy. The crimes against the liberties of the Greek cities with which Sparta began the years of her supremacy were repeated, as she had opportunity, throughout the period.[4] One of her worst

[1] Critias was the leader of the Thirty Tyrants (sect. 264).

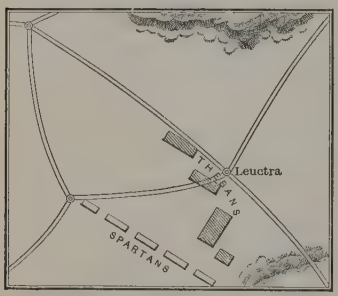
[2] The way of fixing the penalty in an Athenian court was this: the accuser named a penalty (in this case the prosecutor had named death) and then the condemned was at liberty to name another. The jury then chose between the two.

[3] A mina was equivalent to about $18 or $20.

[4] During eight years of this period the chief cities of Greece, aided by the Persians, carried on a tedious struggle, known as the Corinthian War (395–387 B.C.), against Sparta. The war was ended by the so-called Peace of Antalcidas, which left Sparta's supremacy in European Greece unimpaired.

crimes, and the one which brought about her undoing, was the treacherous seizure of the citadel of Thebes and the placing of a Spartan garrison in it. All Greece stood aghast at this perfidious and high-handed act, and looked to see some awful misfortune befall Sparta as a retribution.

And misfortune came speedily enough, and not single-handed. The Spartan garrison was driven out of the citadel by an uprising led by Pelopidas, a Theban exile of distinguished family. A Spartan army was soon in Bœotia. The Thebans met the invaders at Leuctra.



PLAN OF THE BATTLE OF LEUCTRA, 371 B.C.

The Spartans had no other thought than that they should gain an easy victory. But the military genius of the Theban commander, Epaminondas, had prepared for Hellas a startling surprise. Hitherto the Greeks had fought drawn up in extended and comparatively thin opposing lines, not more than twelve ranks deep. The Spartans at Leuctra formed their line in the usual way. Epaminondas, on the other hand, massed his best troops in a solid column, that is, in a phalanx, fifty deep, on the left of his battle line, the rest being drawn up in the ordinary extended line. With all ready for the attack, the phalanx was set in motion first. It ploughed through the thin line of the enemy "as the beak of a ship ploughs through a wave" — and the day was won. Of the seven hundred Spartans in the fight four hundred were killed.

The manner in which the news of the overwhelming calamity was received at Sparta affords a striking illustration of Spartan discipline and self-control. It so happened that when the messenger arrived the Spartans were celebrating a festival. The Ephors would permit no interruption of the entertainment. They merely sent lists of the fallen to their families and ordered that the women should make no

lamentation nor show any signs of grief. "The following day," says Xenophon, "those who had lost relatives in the battle appeared on the streets with cheerful faces, while those whose relatives had escaped, if they appeared in public at all, went about with sad and dejected looks." When we contrast this scene at Sparta with that at Athens upon the night when the news of the disaster at Ægospotami was received (sect. 262), we are impressed with the wide interval which separated the Athenian from the Spartan.

The moral effect of the battle was greater perhaps than that of any other battle ever fought in Greece, except possibly that of Marathon. It was the first time that a Spartan army with its king had been fairly beaten in a great battle by an enemy inferior in numbers (the Spartan forces at Thermopylæ, headed by their king, had, it is true, been annihilated — but annihilation is not defeat). Consequently the impression which the event produced throughout Greece was profound. The prestige of Sparta was destroyed. Her leadership was brought to an end.

268. The Theban Supremacy (371–362 B.C.). From the victory of Leuctra dates the short but brilliant period of Theban supremacy. The year after that battle Epaminondas led an army into the Peloponnesus to aid the Arcadians against Sparta. Laconia was ravaged, and for the first time Spartan women saw the smoke of the camp fires of an enemy.

From Laconia Epaminondas marched into Messenia. The emancipation of the Messenians from their Spartan masters was proclaimed, and Messenia, which for three hundred years had been a part of Laconia (sect. 176), was separated from Sparta and made an independent state. The Helots, converted by the proclamation of emancipation into freemen, engaged in the work of building a new city, Messene, which was to represent their restored nationality. The walls went up amidst music and rejoicing. Messenian exiles, the victims of Spartan tyranny, flocked from all parts of the Hellenic world to rebuild their homes in the homeland.

This emancipation and restoration of the Messenians forms one of the most interesting transactions in Greek history. Two years after their liberation a Messenian boy was crowned as a victor in

the foot race at Olympia. For three hundred years the Messenians had had neither lot nor part in these national games, for only free Hellenes could become contestants. How the news of the victory was received in Messenia is not recorded, but we probably should not be wrong were we to imagine the rejoicings there to have been unlike anything the Greek world had ever seen before.

But, moved by jealousy of the rapidly growing power of Thebes, Athens now formed an alliance with her old rival, Sparta, against her. Three times more did Epaminondas lead an army into the Peloponnesus. Upon his last expedition he fought with the Spartans and Athenians the great battle of Mantinea, in Arcadia. On this memorable field Epaminondas led the Thebans once more to victory; but he himself was slain, and with him fell the hopes and power of Thebes (362 B.C.).

All the chief cities of Greece now lay in a state of exhaustion or of helpless isolation. Sparta had destroyed the empire of Athens;[1] Thebes had broken the dominion of Sparta, but had exhausted herself in the effort. There was now no city energetic, resourceful, unbroken in spirit and strength, such as was Athens at the time of the Persian Wars, to act as leader and champion of the Greek states. Yet never was there greater need of such leadership in Hellas than at just this moment; for the Macedonian monarchy was now rising in the north and threatening the independence of all Greece.

In a succeeding chapter we shall trace the rise of this semibarbarian power, and tell how the cities of Greece, mutually exhausted by their incessant quarrels, were reduced to a state of dependence upon its sovereign. But first we shall turn aside for a moment from the affairs of the cities of Greece proper, in order to cast a glance upon the Greeks of Magna Græcia and Sicily.

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Alcibiades*. THUCYDIDES, ii, 35–46 (the funeral oration of Pericles); vi, 8–23 (the debate in the Athenian assembly on the proposed Sicilian expedition). XENOPHON, *Anabasis*, iii, 2 (a speech of Xenophon to his soldiers). PLATO, *Apology* (the bearing of Socrates before his judges). Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 293–557; Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 218–255; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 174–285.

[1] Athens had indeed made herself the center of a new confederacy and had recovered some of her old possessions, but she was, after all, only the shadow of her former self.

References (Modern). CURTIUS, vols. iii, iv. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vols. v–viii. ABBOTT, vol. iii, chaps. iii–xii. HOLM, vol. ii, chaps. xxi–xxviii; vol. iii, chaps. i–xiii. BURY, *History of Greece*, chaps. x–xiv. COX, *History of Greece*, vol. ii, pp. 104–594; and *Lives of Greek Statesmen*, "Kleon," "Brasidas," "Demosthenes," and "Nikias." CREASY, *Decisive Battles of the World*, chap. ii, "Defeat of the Athenians at Syracuse, B.C. 413." SANKEY, *The Spartan and Theban Supremacies*.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The Athenian army and navy: Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. x. 2. The condemnation of the Athenian generals after the battle of Arginusæ (406 B.C.); see any comprehensive history of Greece. 3. "Festivals and the Theaters": Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xii. 4. "An Athenian trial": Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xiv. 5. The trial and condemnation of Socrates: Grote, vol. vii, pp. 140–172.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE GREEKS OF WESTERN HELLAS

(413–336 B.C.)

269. The Carthaginians Lay Waste Hellenic Sicily. Shortly after the destruction of the Athenian army before Syracuse (sect. 261), the Carthaginians, finding their opportunity in the dissensions of the Greek cities, came into the island with a great army of one hundred thousand men. One city after another was taken by them, the greater part of the inhabitants being either massacred or sold into slavery and the walls and temples of the places destroyed. Throughout a considerable part of the island Hellenic civilization, planted centuries before, was virtually uprooted. As we shall see, the land afterwards recovered in a measure from the terrible blow, and enjoyed a short bloom of prosperity; nevertheless the resources and energies of this part of the Hellenic world, like those of continental Greece through the unhappy causes we have recounted in other chapters, were impaired beyond permanent remedy.

270. Dionysius I, Tyrant of Syracuse (405–367 B.C.). The alarm, distress, and anarchy occasioned by the Carthaginians afforded the opportunity at Syracuse for a man of low birth, named Dionysius, to usurp the government. His career as despot of the city was long and remarkable, embracing a period of thirty-eight years. Reducing the free Greek cities both in Sicily and in Magna Græcia to a state of dependence upon Syracuse, he built up an empire which included nearly all of Western Hellas. Syracuse was thus raised to a position of power and affluence corresponding to that which Athens had so recently held in Eastern Hellas.

The object of universal detestation, Dionysius carried his life in his hands. The state of constant apprehension in which he lived

is illustrated by the story of the sword of Damocles.[1] The Damoclean sword did not fall during the lifetime of Dionysius. He died a natural death, and transmitted his power to his son, who ascended the throne as Dionysius the Younger.

271. Timoleon the Liberator (344–336 B.C.); the Golden Era of the Sicilian Greek Cities. The young Dionysius lacked the ability of his father to play the tyrant. His reign (367–343 B.C.) was a troubled one and was filled with all sorts of vicissitudes. Most of the Sicilian cities broke away from the empire. The Carthaginians began again

FIG. 108. COIN OF SYRACUSE

to harass the island. Everything was in confusion, and distress among the people was universal. Under the stress of these circumstances the Syracusans sent an embassy to Corinth, their mother city, for help to free themselves from the tyrant Dionysius. The Corinthians listened favorably to the appeal, and sent to the succor of the Syracusans a small force under the lead of Timoleon, a man who at home had shown his love for liberty by consenting to the death of his own brother when he attempted to make himself tyrant of Corinth.

Arriving at Syracuse, Timoleon quickly drove out the tyrant and restored the government to the people. He also expelled the despots

[1] A courtier named Damocles having expressed to Dionysius the opinion that he must be supremely happy, the tyrant invited him to a sumptuous banquet, assigning to him his own place at the board. When the courtier was in the midst of the enjoyments of the table, Dionysius bade him look up. Turning his eyes towards the ceiling, Damocles was horrified at the sight of a sword, suspended by a single hair, dangling above his head. "Such," observed Dionysius, "is the life of a tyrant."

who were holding in slavery other Greek cities in the island, and restored freedom to these places. Under the reign of liberty and order instituted by Timoleon, the half-depopulated cities began to fill with inhabitants. Exiles flocked back from all quarters. Corinth, mindful that Syracuse was her own daughter colony, gathered from all parts of Eastern Hellas colonists for the repeopling of the city. At one time ten thousand emigrants sailed together for Sicily. This great influx of population, and the new and unwonted courage and energy infused into the people by the beneficent measures of Timoleon, brought to Hellenic Sicily a period of remarkable expansion and prosperity.

With his great work of freeing and repeopling Sicily accomplished, Timoleon resigned his authority and retired to private life. He died in the year 336 B.C., loved and revered by all the Sicilian Greeks as their liberator and benefactor.

The golden age of the Sicilian Greek cities came to an end shortly after the death of Timoleon, and before the end of the third century B.C. they, together with the cities of Magna Græcia, had been brought into subjection to Rome. That part of the story we shall tell in later chapters.

Having made this hasty review of the course of events in Western Hellas, we must now return to Greece proper in order to trace further the fortunes of the cities of the homeland.

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Timoleon* and *Dion*.

References (Modern). GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. viii, pp. 366–495; vol. ix, pp. 1–194. HOLM, vol. iii, chap. xi. OMAN, *History of Greece*, chap. xxxvii. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *History of Sicily*, chaps. vii–xi. FREEMAN, *History of Sicily*, vol. iv, chaps. x, xi, and *The Story of Sicily*, chaps. x, xi. An interesting brief treatment of the rule of Dionysius the Elder will be found in BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 639–666.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Dionysius the Elder as a pioneer champion of European civilization against Semitic intruders: Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 664–666. 2. Monuments of Greek civilization in Sicily: Richardson, *Vacation Days in Greece*, pp. 173–207.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE RISE OF MACEDONIA: REIGN OF PHILIP II

(359–336 B.C.)

272. The Macedonians and their Rulers. We have reached now the threshold of a new era in Greek history. A state, hitherto but little observed, at this time rose suddenly into prominence and began to play a leading part in the affairs of the Greek cities. This state was Macedonia, a country lying north of the Cambunian Mountains and back of Chalcidice (see map, p. 258).

The peoples of Macedonia were for the most part mountaineers who had not yet passed beyond the tribal state.[1] They were a hardy, warlike race, possessing the habits and the virtues of country people. They were Aryans or Indo-Europeans in speech, and close kin to the Hellenic stock, if not really a branch of it, but since they did not speak pure Greek and were backward in culture, they were looked upon as barbarians by some of their more refined city kinsmen of the south.

The ruling race in the country, however, were generally conceded to be of pure Hellenic stock. They claimed to be descended from the royal house of Argos, and this claim had been allowed by the Greeks, who had permitted them to appear as contestants in the Olympic games — a privilege, it will be recalled, accorded only to those who could prove pure Hellenic ancestry. Their efforts to spread Greek culture among their subjects, combined with intercourse with the Greek cities of Chalcidice, had resulted in the native barbarism of the Macedonian tribes being overlaid with a veneer of Hellenic civilization.

[1] There were, however, a few towns in Macedonia, of which Ægæ and Pella, each of which was in turn the seat of the royal court, were of chief note.

273. The Youth of Philip of Macedon. Macedonia first rose to importance during the reign of Philip II (359–336 B.C.), generally known as Philip of Macedon. He was a man of preëminent ability, of wonderful address in diplomacy, and of rare genius as an organizer and military chieftain.

Several years of Philip's boyhood were passed as a hostage at Thebes. This episode in the life of the prince had a marked influence upon his later career; for just at this time Epaminondas was the leading spirit among the Thebans, and it was in the companionship of this consummate military tactician and commander that Philip learned valuable lessons in the art of war. The Macedonian phalanx,[1] which Philip is said to have originated, and which holds some such place in the military history of Macedonia as the legion holds in that of Rome, was simply a modification of the Theban phalanx that won the day at Leuctra and again at Mantinea.

Nor was this all. Besides the knowledge of military affairs which he acquired, the quick and observant boy gained during his enforced residence at Thebes an insight into Greek character and Greek politics which served him well in his later diplomatic dealings with the Greek cities.

With his kingdom settled and consolidated at home, Philip's ambition led him to seek the leadership of the Greek states.

274. The Second Sacred War (355–346 B.C.). Philip quickly extended his power over Thessaly, a large part of Thrace,[2] and the Greek cities of Chalcidice. Meanwhile he was in the following way acquiring a commanding position in the affairs of the states of Greece proper.

The Phocians had put to secular use some of the lands which at the end of the First Sacred War (sect. 162) had been consecrated

[1] The phalanx was formed of soldiers drawn up sixteen files deep and armed with pikes so long that those of the first five ranks projected beyond the front of the column, thus opposing a perfect thicket of spears to the enemy. On level ground and supported by strong cavalry it was irresistible. A Roman consul once declared that he "never beheld anything more alarming and terrible" (Polybius, xxix, 17).

[2] In this quarter he founded the well-known city of Philippi. This was the first European city in which the Gospel was preached. The preacher was the Apostle Paul, who went over from Asia in obedience to a vision in which a man of Macedonia seemed to stand and pray, "Come over into Macedonia, and help us" (Acts xvi, 9).

to the Delphian Apollo. Taken to task and heavily fined for this act by the other members of the Delphian Amphictyony, they took possession of the temple and used the treasure in the maintenance of a large force of mercenary soldiers.[1] The Amphictyons, being unable to punish them for their "impiety," were forced to ask help of Philip, who gladly rendered the assistance sought.

The Phocians were now quickly subdued. All but one of their cities were broken up into villages, and the inhabitants were forced to undertake to repay in yearly instalments the treasure they had taken from the Delphian shrine. The place that the Phocians had held in the Delphian Amphictyony was given to Philip, upon whom was also bestowed the privilege of presiding at the Pythian games. The position he had now secured was just what Philip had coveted in order that he might use it to make himself master of all Greece.

FIG. 109. DEMOSTHENES (Vatican Museum)

"If thy power, Demosthenes, had been as great as thy spirit never had Hellas bowed before the Macedonian sword." — Plutarch

275. Battle of Chæronea (338 B.C.). Demosthenes at Athens was one of the few who seemed to understand the real designs of Philip. With all the energy of his wonderful eloquence he strove to stir up the Athenians to resist his encroachments. He hurled against him his famous "Philippics," speeches so filled with fierce denunciation that they have given name to all writings characterized by bitter criticism or violent invective.

Moved by the realization of a common peril and by the persuasion of Demosthenes, the Athenians and the Thebans, in spite of their immemorial enmity one towards the other, now united their forces

[1] The Phocians claimed that they took the treasure merely as a loan.

and met Philip at Chæronea, in Bœotia. The battle was stubbornly fought, but finally went against the allies, who were driven from the field with heavy loss. It is of interest to note that the Macedonian phalanx was led by the youthful Alexander, the son of Philip, who on this memorable field began his great career as a commander. The result of the battle was the subjection of all Greece to the authority of the Macedonian foreigner. "The drama [shall we call it a tragedy?] was now at an end."

276. The Congress at Corinth (338 B.C.); Plan to Invade Asia. Soon after the battle of Chæronea, Philip convened at Corinth a council of the Greek states. At this meeting was adopted a constitution, drafted by Philip, which united the various Greek cities (Sparta alone held aloof) and Macedonia in a sort of federation, with Macedonia as the leading state. Differences arising between members of the federation were to be referred for settlement to the Amphictyonic assembly.

But Philip's main object in calling the congress was not so much to promulgate a federal constitution for the Greek cities as to secure their aid in an expedition which he had evidently long been meditating for the conquest of the Persian Empire. The exploit of the Ten Thousand Greeks (sect. 265) had shown the feasibility of such an undertaking. The plan was indorsed by a second meeting of the congress (337 B.C.). Every Greek city was to furnish a contingent for the army of invasion. Philip was chosen leader of the expedition, and commander-in-chief of the war forces of Greece.

All Greece was now astir with preparations for the great enterprise. By the spring of the year 336 B.C. the expedition was ready to move, and the advance forces had already crossed over into Asia, when Philip, during the festivities attending the marriage of his daughter, was assassinated and his son Alexander succeeded to his place and power.

277. Results of Philip's Reign. Philip by his achievements made possible the greater achievements of his son. He paved the way for Alexander's remarkable conquests by consolidating the Macedonian monarchy and organizing an army which was the most effective instrument of warfare the world had yet seen. But the

most important outcome of Philip's activity and policy was the union of the Macedonian monarchical and military system with Hellenic culture. This was the historical mission of Philip. Had not Hellenic civilization been thus incorporated with the Macedonian system, then the wide conquests of Alexander would have resulted in no more good for humanity than those of an Attila or a Tamerlane.[1] Greece conquered the world by being conquered. It was Hellenic institutions, customs, and manners, the Hellenic language and civilization, which the extended conquests of Alexander spread throughout the Eastern world. It is this which makes the short-lived Macedonian Empire so important a factor in universal history.

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Demosthenes*. DEMOSTHENES, *Orations on the Crown* (this masterpiece of Demosthenes has been called "The funeral oration of extinct Athenian and Grecian freedom"). Thallon's *Readings*, pp. 539–621; Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 284–297; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 286–294.

References (Modern). GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ix, pp. 195–504. CURTIUS, vol. v. HOLM, vol. iii, chaps. xiv–xix. HOGARTH, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (first part). BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 681–737. OMAN, *History of Greece*, pp. 490–520. ALLCROFT and MASOM, *Decline of Hellas*, pp. 32–104. CURTEIS, *Rise of the Macedonian Empire*, chaps. i–viii. PICKARD-CAMBRIDGE, *Demosthenes*.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The youth and training of Demosthenes: Pickard-Cambridge, *Demosthenes*, chap. i. 2. Imperialism *vs.* Home Rule; or was Demosthenes' policy of opposition to Philip wise? Mahaffy, *Problems in Greek History*, chap. vii, "Practical Politics in the Fourth Century."

[1] Mongol or Turanian conquerors.

CHAPTER XXV

ALEXANDER THE GREAT

(336–323 B.C.)

278. The Youth of Alexander; Formative Influences. Alexander was only twenty years of age when he came to his father's throne. Those traits of temper and mind which marked his manhood and which fitted him to play so great a part in history were foreshown in early youth — if we may believe the tales that are told of his sayings and doings as a boy. The familiar story of the fractious steed Bucephalus, which none dared either to mount or to approach, but which was subdued in a moment by the skillful handling of the little prince, reveals that self-reliance and passion for achievement and command which in after years gave him mastery of the world. The spirit of the man is again shown in the complaint of the boy when news of his father's victories came to him: "Boys," said he to his playmates, "my father will get ahead of us in everything, and will leave nothing great for you or me to do."

Certain cultural influences under which the boy came in his earliest years left a permanent impress upon his mind and character. By his mother Olympias, an Epirote princess, from whom doubtless he inherited his ardent, passionate nature, he was taught to trace his descent from the great Achilles, and was incited to emulate the exploits of that hero and to make him his model in all things. The *Iliad*, which recounts the deeds of Achilles, became the prince's inseparable companion.

After his mother's influence, perhaps that of the philosopher Aristotle, whom Philip persuaded to become the tutor of the youthful Alexander, was the most potent and formative. This great teacher implanted in the mind of the young prince a love of literature and philosophy, and through his inspiring companionship and lofty

conversation exercised over the eager, impulsive boy an influence for good which Alexander himself gratefully acknowledged in later years.

279. Troubles attending the Accession of Alexander. For about two years after his accession to the Macedonian throne, Alexander was kept busy in thwarting conspiracies and suppressing open revolts against his authority.

While the young king was campaigning against some barbarian tribes on his northern frontier a report was spread in Greece that he was dead. The Thebans rose in revolt and called upon the Athenians to join them. Demosthenes favored the appeal, and began to stir up the Athenians and others to unite with the Thebans in freeing the Grecian land from the foreigners.

FIG. 110. ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Capitoline Museum)

But Alexander was not dead. Before the Greek cities had settled upon any plan of concerted action, Alexander with his army was in front of Thebes. In a sharp battle outside the gates the Thebans were defeated and their city was captured. As a warning to the other Greek towns, Alexander leveled the city to the ground, sparing only the temples and the house of the poet Pindar, and sold thirty thousand of the inhabitants into slavery. Thus was one of the largest and most renowned of the cities of Greece wiped out of existence.

280. Alexander Crosses the Hellespont; the Battle of the Granicus (334 B.C.). Alexander was now free to carry out his father's scheme in regard to the Asiatic expedition. In the spring of 334 B.C., with all his plans matured, he set out at the head of an army numbering about thirty-five thousand men, for the conquest of the Persian Empire.

Crossing the Hellespont, Alexander first proceeded to the plain of ancient Troy, in order to place a garland upon the supposed tomb at that place of his mythical ancestor Achilles.

Proceeding on his march, Alexander met a Persian army on the banks of the Granicus, over which he gained a decisive victory. All Asia Minor now lay open to the invader, and soon virtually all

of its cities and tribes were brought to acknowledge the authority of the Macedonian.[1]

281. The Battle of Issus (333 B.C.). At the northeast corner of the Mediterranean lies the plain of Issus. Here Alexander met a Persian army, numbering, it is said, six hundred thousand men, and inflicted upon it an overwhelming defeat. The king[2] himself escaped from the field, and hastened to his capital Susa to raise another army to oppose the march of the conqueror.

282. The Siege of Tyre (332 B.C.). Alexander now turned to the south, in order to effect the subjugation of Phœnicia, that he might command the Phœnician fleets and prevent their being used either to sever his communication with Greece or to aid revolts in the cities there against his authority. The island-city of Tyre, after a memorable siege, was taken by means of a mole, or causeway, built with incredible labor through the sea to the city. It still remains, uniting the rock with the mainland.

When at last the city was taken after a siege of seven months, eight thousand of the inhabitants were slain and thirty thousand sold into slavery — a terrible warning to those cities that should dare to close their gates against the Macedonian. After the fall of Tyre the cities of Palestine and Philistia, with the sole exception of Gaza, surrendered at once to the conqueror. Gaza resisted stubbornly, but after a siege of three months the city was taken and its inhabitants were sold as slaves.

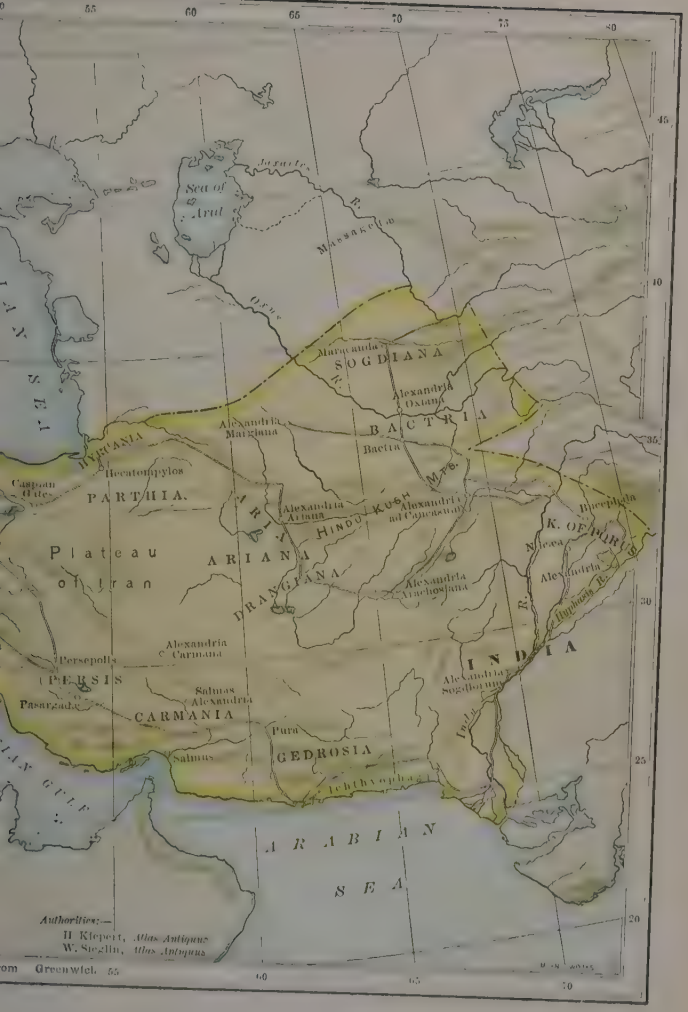
283. Alexander in Egypt. With the cities of Phœnicia and the fleets of the Mediterranean subject to his control, Alexander easily effected the reduction of Egypt. The Egyptians, indeed, made no resistance, but willingly exchanged masters.

While in Egypt, Alexander founded at one of the mouths of the Nile a city named, after himself, Alexandria. Ranke declares this to

[1] At Gordium, in Phrygia, Alexander performed an exploit which has given the world one of its favorite apothegms. In the temple at this place was a chariot to the pole of which a yoke was fastened by a curiously intricate knot. An oracle had been spread abroad to the effect that whoever should untie the knot would become master of Asia. Alexander attempted the feat. Unable to loosen the knot, he drew his sword and cut it. Hence the phrase *cutting the Gordian knot*, meaning a short way out of a difficulty.

[2] Darius III (surnamed Codomannus), 336–330 B.C.

EMPIRE OF
ALEXANDER THE GR
About 323 B. C.
March of Alexander:
0 50 100 200 300 400
Scale of Miles.
Longitude
SCYTHIA
BLACK SEA
ILLYRIA
THRACE
HÆMUS MTS.
Triballi
Getæ
Ister R.
Pæonia
CEDONIA
Pella
Olynthus
Chalcidice
Pydna
Gynoscephalæ
Thessalia
Thebes
Athens
Corinth
Mantinea
Sparta
GREECE
Megalopolis
Byzantium
BITHYNIA
Granicus R.
Pergamus
Magnesia
Gordium
Ancyra
Halys R.
Sinope
Trapezus
PONTUS
CAUCASUS
Colchis
Iberia
CAPPADOCIA
ARMENIA
Ipsus
PHRYGIA
Sardis
Ephesus
Celænæ
Miletus
Halicarnassus
CARIA
PISIDIA
LYDIA
Rhodes
Patara
Cyprus
Crete
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CILICIA
Cilician Gates
Syrian Gates
Tarsus
Issus
Antioch
Alexandria
Apamea
Thapsacus
MESOPOTAMIA
Nisibis
Nineveh
Gaugamela
Arbela
Euphrates
Tigris R.
Callone
Opis
Selencia
Cunaxa
Babylon
Alexandria
SYRIA
Palmyra
Sidon
Tyre
Damascus
Jaffa
Gaza
Jerusalem
Pelusium
Petra
Nabathæi
CYRENAICA
Parætonium
Canopus
Alexandria
Memphis
Moris L.
Ammonium (Siwah)
EGYPT
Nile R.
Thebes
RED SEA
ARABIA
Adriatic Sea
Rome
Samnium
Tuscan Sea
Campania
Lucania
ROME
and her possessions
326 B.C.
Sicily
Same scale as main Map



Sea of Aral
Jaxartes R.
Massagetæ
Oxus R.
Maracanda
SOGDIANA
Alexandria Oxiana
BACTRIA
Bactra
Alexandria Margiana
HYRCANIA
Hecatompylos
Caspian Gates
PARTHIA.
ARIA
Alexandria Ariana
HINDU KUSH Mts.
Alexandria ad Caucasum
Bucephala
K. OF PORUS
Nicæa
Alexandria
Hyphasis R.
Plateau of Iran
ARIANA
DRANGIANA
Alexandria Arachosiana
Alexandria Carmana
Persepolis
PERSIS
Pasargadæ
Salmas Alexandria
CARMANIA
Pura
GEDROSIA
Salmus
Ichthyophagi
INDIA
Alexandria Sogdiorum
Indus R.
ARABIAN SEA
Authorities:—
H. Kiepert, Atlas Antiquus
W. Sieglin, Atlas Antiquus
Greenwich

have been the "first city in the world, after the Piræus, erected expressly for purposes of commerce." The city became the meeting place of the East and the West; and its importance through many centuries attests the farsighted wisdom of its founder.

A less worthy enterprise of the conqueror was his expedition to the oasis of Siwa, located in the Libyan desert, where were a celebrated temple and oracle of Zeus Ammon. To gratify his own conceit, as well as to impress his new oriental subjects, and especially to qualify himself as the legitimate successor of the divine Pharaohs (sect. 31), Alexander evidently desired to be declared of celestial descent. The priests of the temple, in accordance with the wish of the king, gave out that the oracle pronounced Alexander to be the son of Zeus and the destined ruler of the world. It would seem that Alexander was quite fully persuaded that, like the early Greek heroes, he was allied to the race of the gods.

284. The Battle of Arbela (331 B.C.). From Egypt Alexander retraced his steps to Syria and marched eastward. At Arbela, not far from the ancient Nineveh, his farther advance was disputed by Darius with an immense army, numbering, if we may rely upon our authorities, over a million men. The vast Persian host was overthrown with enormous slaughter. Darius fled from the field, as he had done at Issus, and later was treacherously killed by an attendant.

The battle of Arbela was one of the decisive combats of history. It marked the end of the long struggle between the East and the West, between Persia and Greece, and prepared the way for the spread of Hellenic civilization over all western Asia.

285. Alexander at Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis. From the field of Arbela Alexander marched south to Babylon, which opened its gates to him without opposition. Susa was next entered by the conqueror. Here he seized immense quantities of gold and silver, the treasure of the Great King. He also found here and sent back to Athens the bronze statues of Harmodius and Aristogiton[1] (sect. 203), which had been carried off by Xerxes at the time of the invasion of Greece.

[1] So Arrian, iii, 16. Other authorities, however, make it to have been some successor of Alexander who returned the statues.

From Susa Alexander's march was next directed to Persepolis, where he secured a treasure more than twice as great as that found at Susa. Upon Persepolis Alexander wreaked vengeance for all that Greece had suffered at the hands of the Persians. Many of the inhabitants were massacred and others were sold into slavery, while the palace of Darius was given to the flames.[1]

Alexander having thus overthrown the power of Darius now began to regard himself not only as his conqueror but as his successor, and was thus looked upon by the Persians. He assumed the pomp and state of an oriental monarch, and required the most obsequious homage from all who approached him. His Greek and Macedonian companions, unused to paying such servile adulation to their king, were much displeased at Alexander's conduct, and from this time on to his death intrigues and conspiracies were being constantly formed among them against his power and life.[2]

286. Conquest of Bactria and Sogdiana (329–328 B.C.). After the death of Darius (sect. 284), Alexander led his army towards the east, and, after subduing many tribes that dwelt about the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and in the mountainous regions of what is now known as Afghanistan, boldly conducted his soldiers over the snowy and dangerous passes of the Hindu Kush, and descended into the province of Bactria (which region some believe to have been the early home of the primitive Aryan community). Alexander wished to become master of this country because it was the sacred land of the Persian religion. After the reduction of this region, Alexander subdued the tribes of Sogdiana, a country lying still farther to the north.

Throughout these remote regions Alexander founded numerous cities, several of which bore his own name. One of them is said to have been built, wall and houses, in twenty days. These new cities were peopled with captives, and by those veterans who, because of fatigue or wounds, were no longer able to follow the conqueror in his swift campaigns.

1 Diodorus, xxvii, 7; Plutarch, *Alexander*, xxxviii; and Arrian, *Anabasis*, iii, 18, all agree that the palace was burned to ashes. Read Dryden's *Alexander's Feast*.

2 For complicity in one of these plots Alexander put to death one of his ablest generals, Parmenio, and for scoffing at his pretensions killed with his own hand his dearest friend Clitus (sect. 286).

Alexander's stay in Sogdiana was saddened by his murder of his dearest friend Clitus, who had saved his life at the Granicus. Both were heated with wine when the quarrel arose; after the deed Alexander was overwhelmed with remorse.[1]

287. Conquests in India. With the countries north of the Hindu Kush subdued and settled,[2] Alexander recrossed the mountains and led his army down into the rich and crowded plains of India (327 B.C.). Here again he showed himself invincible, and received the submission of many of the native princes of the country. Alexander's desire was to extend his conquests to the Ganges, but his soldiers began to murmur because of the length and hardness of their campaigns, and he reluctantly gave up the undertaking. To secure the conquests already made, he founded, at different points in the valley of the Indus, Greek towns and colonies. One of these he named Alexandria, after himself; another Bucephala, in memory of his favorite steed — the mettlesome Bucephalus that he as a boy had so easily subdued; and still another Nicæa, for his victories. The modern museum at Lahore contains many relics of Greek art dug up on the sites of these Macedonian cities and camps.

288. Rediscovery of the Sea Route from the Indus to the Euphrates. It was Alexander's next care to bind these distant conquests in the East to those in the West. To do this, it was of the first importance to establish water communication between India and Babylonia. Now, strange as it may seem, the Greeks had no positive knowledge of what sea the Indus emptied into, and only a vague idea that there was a waterway from the Indus to the Euphrates.[3] This important maritime route, once known to the civilized world, had been lost, and needed to be rediscovered.

So the conqueror Alexander now turned explorer. He sailed down the Indus to its mouth, and was rejoiced to find himself looking out

[1] "Alexander was great because he was able to repent." — HOLM

[2] The Macedonian kingdom which grew out of the conquests of Alexander in central Asia lasted for about two centuries after his death. Traditions of the conqueror still linger in the land, and coins and plate with subjects from classic mythology are frequently turned up at the present day.

[3] According to Arrian, when Alexander reached the Indus he at first thought that he had struck the upper course of the Nile. The presence in the river of crocodiles like those in Egypt was one thing that led him to this conclusion (*Anabasis*, vi, 1).

upon the southern ocean. He now dispatched his trusty admiral Nearchus with a considerable fleet to explore this sea and to determine whether it communicated with the Euphrates. He himself, with the larger part of the army, marched westward along the coast. His march thus lay through the ancient Gedrosia, now Baluchistan, a region frightful with burning deserts,[1] amidst which his soldiers endured almost incredible privations and sufferings.

After a trying and calamitous march of over two months, Alexander, with the survivors of his army, reached Carmania. Here, to his unbounded joy, he was joined by Nearchus, who had made the voyage from the Indus successfully, and thus "rediscovered one of the most important maritime routes of the world," the knowledge of which among the Western nations was never again to be lost.

To celebrate appropriately his conquests and discoveries, Alexander instituted a series of religious festivals, amidst which his soldiers forgot the dangers of their numberless battles and the hardships of their unparalleled marches, which had put to the test every power of human endurance. In a few years they had conquered half the world and changed the whole course of history.

289. The Plans of Alexander; the Hellenizing of the World. As the capital of his vast empire, which now stretched from the Ionian Sea to the Indus, Alexander chose the ancient Babylon, upon the Euphrates. He proposed to make this old Semitic city the center of his dominions for the reason that such a location of the seat of government would help to promote his plans, which aimed at nothing less than the union and Hellenizing of the world. Not only were the peoples of Asia and Europe to be blended by means of colonies, but even the floras of the two continents were to be intermingled by the transplanting of plants and trees from one continent to the other. Common laws and customs were to unite the nations into one great family. Intermarriages were to blend the races. Alexander himself married two Persian princesses; to ten thousand of his soldiers, whom he encouraged to take Asiatic wives, he gave magnificent gifts.

1 "After Alexander's experience no European is known to have penetrated it down to the present century." — WHEELER, *Alexander the Great* (1900), p. 466

290. The Mutiny at Opis (324 B.C.). Not all the old soldiers of Alexander approved of his plans and measures, particularly since in these magnificent projects they seemed to be relegated to a second place. His Macedonian veterans especially were greatly displeased that he should enlist in his service effeminate Asiatics, and dress and equip them in the Macedonian fashion. They also disapproved of Alexander's action in wearing the Persian costume and surrounding himself with Persian attendants. So when Alexander proposed to send back to Macedonia the aged and the maimed among his veterans, the soldiers broke out in open mutiny.

Alexander caused the movers of the sedition to be executed, and then made to the mutinous soldiers a speech such as they had never listened to before. He recalled to their minds how his father Philip had found them vagabond shepherds tending a few sheep on the mountain-sides in Macedonia, and had made them conquerors and rulers of all Thrace and Greece; and how he himself had made them conquerors of the empire of the Great King, the possessors of the riches of the world and the envied of all mankind.[1]

By these words the mutinous spirit of the soldiers was completely subdued, and with every expression of contrition for their fault and of devotion to their old commander they begged for forgiveness and reinstatement in his favor. Alexander was moved by their entreaties, and gave them assurances that they were once more his companions and kinsmen. The reconciliation was celebrated by a magnificent banquet in which more than nine thousand participated.[2]

291. The Death of Alexander (323 B.C.). In the midst of his vast projects Alexander was seized by a fever and died at Babylon, 323 B.C., in the thirty-second year of his age. His soldiers could not let him die without seeing him. The watchers of the palace were obliged to open the doors to them, and the veterans of a

[1] Arrian, *Anabasis*, vii, 9, 10.

[2] It was soon after this meeting that Alexander's dearest friend, Hephæstion, died at Ecbatana. Alexander indulged in most extravagant expressions of grief. He caused a funeral pyre to be erected at a cost, it is said, of 10,000 talents ($12,000,000), and instituted in memory of his friend magnificent funeral games. He even ordered the tops of the towers of the surrounding cities to be cut off, and the horses and mules to be put in mourning by having their manes docked.

hundred battlefields filed sorrowfully past the couch of their dying commander. His body was carried first to Memphis, but afterwards it was taken to Alexandria, in Egypt, and there inclosed in a golden coffin, over which was raised a splendid mausoleum. His ambition for celestial honors was gratified in his death, for in Egypt and elsewhere temples were dedicated to him and divine worship was paid to his statues.

292. Results of Alexander's Conquests. The remarkable conquests of Alexander had important and far-reaching consequences. First,

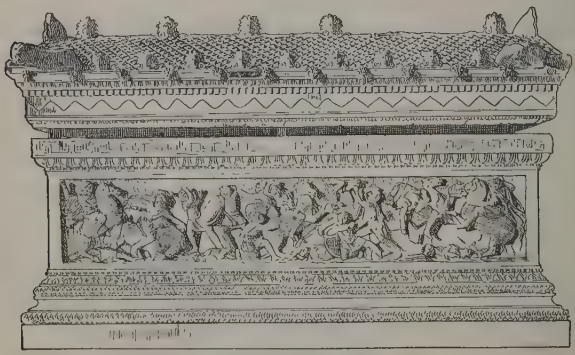


FIG. 111. THE SO-CALLED SARCOPHAGUS OF ALEXANDER
(Constantinople Museum)

The finest of sixteen sarcophagi found at Sidon in 1887. "This is the most exquisite sarcophagus that the world has ever seen" (Richardson). Its delicate coloring is still well preserved

they ended the long struggle between Persia and Greece, and spread Hellenic civilization over Egypt and western Asia.

Second, the distinction between Greek and barbarian was obliterated, and the sympathies of men, hitherto so narrow and local, were widened, and thus an important preparation was made for the reception of the Christian creed of universal brotherhood.

Third, the world was given a universal language of culture, which was a further preparation for the spread of Christian teachings.

"Without the introduction of Greek civilization into the East Christianity would never have been able to take root."[1]

Fourth, the sea route from India to Europe was rediscovered. This the historian Ranke, on account of its influence upon trade and commerce, views as one of the most important results of Alexander's expedition.

But the evil effects of these conquests were also positive and far-reaching. The sudden acquisition by the Greeks of the enormous wealth of the Persian Empire, and contact with the vices and the effeminate luxury of the oriental nations, had a most demoralizing effect upon Hellenic life. Greece became corrupt, and she in turn corrupted Rome. Thus the civilization of classical antiquity was undermined.

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Alexander*. ARRIAN, *Anabasis of Alexander*, vii, 9 (Alexander's speech to his soldiers reminding them of the debt they owe to his father); vii, 28–30 (for an estimate of Alexander's character). Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 298–321; Fling's *Source Book*, 296–328.

References (Modern). WHEELER, *Alexander the Great*; affords a most interesting and scholarly treatment of our subject. DODGE, *Alexander*. HOGARTH, *Philip and Alexander of Macedon* (last part). MAHAFFY, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, chap. viii (first part); *The Story of Alexander's Empire*, chaps. i–v; and *Greek Life and Thought*, chap. ii. GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. ix, pp. 505–549; vol. x, pp. 1–212. HOLM, vol. iii, chaps. xx–xxvii. HOGARTH, *The Ancient East*, chap. v. BURY, *History of Greece*, pp. 738–836. CURTEIS, *Rise of the Macedonian Empire* (later chapters). FREEMAN, *Historical Essays* (Second Series), "Alexander."

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Alexander's visit to the oracle of Zeus Ammon: Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*, chap. xxi. 2. Alexander's letter to Darius: Bury, *History of Greece*, pp. 761, 762. 3. "The marriage of Europe and Asia": Wheeler, *Alexander the Great*, chap. xxx, pp. 476–479.

[1] Holm, *History of Greece* (1900), vol. iii, p. 397.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE GRÆCO-ORIENTAL WORLD FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE CONQUEST OF GREECE BY THE ROMANS

(323–146 B.C.)

I. HELLENISTIC CULTURE

293. The Three Epochs of Greek Colonization. It has already been noticed that the most important result of the conquests of Alexander was the spreading of Greek culture over the countries of the Near East. This movement eastward of Greek civilization will be seen in its true historical relations only when it is viewed as the third expansion and colonization movement of the Greek race. The first movement took place in the twilight period between the prehistoric and the historic age (sect. 152). Establishing a Greek population on the western shores of Asia Minor and on the neighboring islands, it made the Ægean a Greek lake and doubled the area of Greek lands.

The second colonization movement (Chapter XVI), which went on in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., planted Greek colonies on almost every shore of the Mediterranean and the Euxine, and made the selvage lands of a great part of the ancient Mediterranean world the arena of Greek enterprise and Greek achievement.

The third expansion and colonizing movement, with which we shall deal in the present chapter, and which was made possible by the breaking down of the barrier of the Persian Empire by the conquests of Alexander, overflowed all the culture lands of the Orient — Asia Minor, Syria, Mesopotamia, and Egypt — and once more enlarged vastly the sphere of Greek life and Greek activity.

294. The Hellenizing of the Orient: Hellenistic Culture. The results of this third Greek colonizing movement were quite different from those of the two earlier expansions. The settlement by Greeks

in the first colonization epoch on the western shore-lands of Asia Minor resulted in the establishing there of a civilization which was essentially Hellenic, although, as we have seen, Æolian and Ionian culture were undoubtedly deeply tinged with non-Hellenic racial and cultural elements. Likewise, the numerous Greek colonies founded during the second expansion age, although in some cases the Greek settlers mingled with the ruder native populations, kept for the most part pure and unmixed, if not their Hellenic blood, at least their Hellenic culture.

In the third great colonizing epoch, however, the new cities were founded generally in the midst of a dense native population more or less advanced in civilization. In this environment Hellenic culture in all its elements — language, arts, manners and customs, ways of living and ways of thinking — inevitably became modified, in some countries less, in others more. We indicate this changed character of the civilization by calling it *Hellenistic*,[1] thereby distinguishing it from the pure *Hellenic* culture of Greece.

The formation of this Hellenistic or Græco-oriental culture is one of the great matters of universal history, a matter like the formation later of the Græco-Roman civilization in the great melting-pot of the world-empire of Rome, and of the Romano-German civilization in the Europe of the Middle Ages.[2]

295. The Two Agencies in the Dissemination of Greek Culture. It was chiefly through two agencies that the Greek language and arts and Greek letters were spread throughout the Orient. These were, first, the courts of the successors of Alexander which were established in Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt; and second, the hundreds of Greek cities which were founded throughout all the regions included in the kingdoms of these Græco-Macedonian rulers. Each court and each city was the radiating center of Greek culture and arts. The cities, however,

[1] From *Hellenist*, a non-Greek who adopts the Greek language and imitates Greek manners and customs.

[2] The meeting again of European and Asian cultures in the countries (Japan, China, and India) of the Far East will repeat, indeed is repeating, the history of these great cultural blends of the past. The final issue of these blendings must be a world-culture which will have assimilated and unified the best elements of all the separately developed civilizations.

were the more effective of the two agencies in the spread of the Greek civilization, and of these we must here speak more in detail.

296. Cities of the Hellenistic Age. As has been seen, Alexander founded a great number of cities. His successors in general followed his example, and some of them became celebrated as city-builders. These new cities were established all along the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor, upon the banks of the rivers of the different regions, along the main routes of travel, and at all the strategic points of trade and commerce. Many of these cities were entirely new foundations, others were old cities reconstructed and given Greek names. They were furnished and adorned with Greek temples, theaters, gymnasia, and covered colonnades. They had constitutions and laws, councils and popular assemblies, like those of the old city-states of Hellas. It is probable that in many, if not in most, cases only the Greeks — who ordinarily could have formed but a small part of the population — were citizens with full rights.

One thing in regard to these cities of the Hellenistic Age should be carefully noted. They were not in general independent city-states like those of pre-Macedonian Hellas, but rather what we should call free municipalities. They were included in the territories of the kingdoms of the successors of Alexander, and enjoyed home rule, that is, the management of their own local affairs, but had nothing to do with foreign or international matters.

In the remaining paragraphs of this chapter we shall state some facts concerning the most important Greek cities of the Hellenistic period, and speak of the most noteworthy matters in the history of continental Greece and of the leading kingdoms that resulted from the break-up of the empire of Alexander.

II. MACEDONIA

297. The Break-up of Alexander's Empire. There was no one who could wield the sword that fell from the hand of Alexander. Before the close of the fourth century B.C. the vast empire created by his unparalleled conquests had become broken into many fragments. Besides minor states, three kingdoms of special importance,

centering in Macedonia, Syria, and Egypt, rose out of the ruins. All were finally overwhelmed by the now rapidly rising power of Rome.

298. Macedonia and Rome. The story of Macedonia from the death of Alexander on to the conquest of the country by the Romans is made up largely of the quarrels and crimes of rival aspirants for the crown that Philip and Alexander had worn. During a great part of the period the successive Macedonian kings were exercising or attempting to exercise authority over the cities of Greece. Respecting the extent of their power or influence in the peninsula we shall find it more convenient to speak in the following section.

Macedonia was one of the first countries east of the Adriatic to come in hostile contact with the great military republic of the West. After much intrigue and a series of wars, the country was eventually brought into subjection to the Italian power and made into a Roman province (146 B.C.). A large part of the population were sold as slaves. Not a man of note was left in the country. The great but short rôle Macedonia had played in history was ended.

III. CONTINENTAL GREECE

299. Greek Freedom and Demosthenes. From the subjection of Greece by Philip of Macedon to the absorption of Macedonia into the growing dominions of Rome, the Greek cities of the peninsula were, as we have said, much of the time, at least, under the real or nominal overlordship of the Macedonian kings. But the Greeks were never made for royal subjects, and consequently they were in a state of chronic revolt against this foreign authority.

Thus no sooner had they heard of the death of Alexander than several of the Greek states rose against Antipater, the general whom Alexander had intrusted with the government of Macedonia. The struggle ended disastrously for the Greeks, and Demosthenes, who had been the soul of the movement, to escape falling into the hands of Antipater, put an end to his own life by means of poison.

300. The Celtic Invasion (278 B.C.). The next matter of moment in the history of Greece was an invasion of the Gauls, kinsmen of the Celtic tribes that about a century before this time had sacked the city

of Rome. These terrible marauders, pouring down from the north, ravaged Greece as far south as Delphi and the Pass of Thermopylæ. If we may believe the Greek accounts, they met with heroic resistance and were driven back with great loss. A little later some of the tribes settled in Asia Minor and there gave name to the province of Galatia.[1]

301. The Achæan and Ætolian Leagues. In the third century B.C. there arose in Greece two important confederacies, known as the Achæan and Ætolian leagues, whose history embraces almost every matter of interest and instruction in the later political life of the Greek cities.[2] These late attempts at federation among the Grecian cities were one expression of that tendency towards nationalism that marks this period of Greek history. They were fostered by the intense desire of all patriotic Hellenes to free themselves from the hated arbitership of Macedonia. The Greeks had learned at last — but unhappily too late — that the liberty they prized so highly could be maintained only through union.

The Achæan League (281–146 B.C.) was in its beginnings simply a revival of a very ancient religious union of the cities of Achæa, but it came finally to embrace all the states of the Peloponnesus[3] as well as some cities beyond its limits. It was one of the most successful efforts ever made to unite the Greek cities into a real federal state in which all the members should enjoy perfect equality of rights and privileges.[4]

The Ætolian League, established about 280 B.C., was composed of tribes — chiefly the half-civilized mountain tribes of Central Greece. Its chieftains displayed little of the statesmanship evinced by the

[1] It was to these people that St. Paul addressed one of his epistles (see the Epistle to the Galatians).

[2] For a study of these confederations, the first of which was very much like our own federal union, and which in truth served in a measure as a model to the framers of our Constitution (both Hamilton and Madison made a careful study of it), consult Freeman's work entitled *History of Federal Constitutions*.

[3] Sparta became a member of the league in 192 B.C. (Polybius, xxiii, 17, 18).

[4] The chief promoters of the movement were Aratus (271–213 B.C.) and Philopœmen (about 252–183 B.C.), both of whom were trusted generals of the league and men of eminent ability and enlightened patriotism. Pausanias calls Philopœmen "the last of the Greeks," while Plutarch says that Greece loved him as "the last great man born of her old age."

leaders of the Achæan League, and it never became prominent in Greek affairs save from a military point of view.

The sudden rise into such importance of these regions which had remained in comparative obscurity during the great days of Greece was due to the fact that the folk here, particularly in Ætolia, were chiefly rough mountaineers who supplied recruits for the armies that conquered and ravaged Asia. The basis of their importance and power was the booty that fell to these mercenaries as their share of the pillage of a continent. The wealth they thus acquired was enough, Mahaffy asserts, "to buy all Greece ten times over."[1]

Both of the leagues were broken up by Rome. In the year 146 B.C. Corinth, the most splendid city at this time of all Greece, and the most important member of the Achæan League, was taken by the Romans, the men were killed, the women and children sold into slavery, the rich art treasures of the city sent as trophies to Rome, and its temples and other buildings given to the flames. This was the last act in the long and varied drama of the political life of ancient Greece. Henceforth the country formed simply a portion of the Roman Empire.

302. Athens as a University City. But the things of greatest interest in the history of continental Greece during the period we are reviewing are connected with none of the political matters so far noticed, but rather with the intellectual life of Athens. At the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Pericles, in his celebrated funeral oration, called Athens "the School of Hellas." With even better right could the Athens of the Hellenistic Age lay claim to the title of "the School of the World." Throughout this period she was preëminently a university town in a very real meaning of the term.

The beginning of this phase of Athenian life was the bequest made by the philosopher Plato at his death (347 B.C.) of his house and garden, close to the Academy,[2] as a school for those wishing to pursue philosophical studies. So far as we know this was the first endowed school in the world, and the one of which our own endowed academies and universities are the lineal descendants. Others imitated

[1] *Greek Life and Thought* (1887), p. 7.

[2] The Academy, like the Lyceum, was a pleasure-ground outside the city walls.

the example set by Plato, and in quick succession there were established and endowed at Athens three other famous schools, known as the Lyceum, the School of Epicurus, and the School of the Stoics. The first was founded by the famous philosopher Aristotle, the second by the teacher whose name it bore, and the third by the philosopher Zeno (sect. 363).

These several schools of philosophy were the chief attraction at Athens during the last three centuries before the Christian era and even long thereafter. Their pleasant gardens and beautiful buildings were the show places of the city. They drew to Athens the mentally alert, the choice spirits of every land, both as teachers and as pupils, and made that city the intellectual hearth of the ancient world. Many of the Roman youth in the second and first centuries before our era came here to sit at the feet of teachers whose fame was world-wide.

In a later chapter[1] we shall speak of some of the doctrines of the Stoics and the Epicureans and give some details of the lives and works of the greatest representatives of the several schools. In the present connection we shall stop to notice only certain facts concerning the School of the Stoics, because these facts show how close and vital were the relations of this school of thought to the spirit and tendencies of the age in which it arose.

303. Rise of the Stoic Philosophy. In speaking of the Stoic system, Professor Mahaffy says, "This philosophy was one of the first results, and perhaps the greatest, of Hellenism proper — the reaction upon Greece of the thought and culture of the East."[2] It was a blend of Greek and oriental elements. The leaders of the school came chiefly from Asia, or from regions that had felt oriental influences, racial or cultural.[3] This explains the presence of an oriental element in their philosophy and in their code of morals. In certain of their teachings, as, for instance, in their fundamental doctrine that a man should regard himself not as a citizen of this city or of that, but as a citizen of the world, they were the truest representatives of the broadening spirit of the Hellenistic Age. "We are the offspring of God," quoted by the Apostle Paul (Acts xvii, 28) was a

[1] See Chapter XXIX. [2] *Greek Life and Thought* (1887), p. 142.
[3] Zeno, the founder of the school, was of Phœnician descent.

Stoic epigram, which shows how the new philosophy was approaching the standpoint of Christianity and preparing the way for it.

Panætius, who died in 110 B.C., was for a time head of the Stoic school in Athens. It was the Stoic philosophy and code of morals as modified by him that the Romans adopted. This was one of the most important of the elements of the intellectual and moral legacy which Greece bequeathed to Rome. It was next in influence to the religious and moral doctrines given to Rome by Judea.

IV. RHODES

304. Rhodes as a Center of Commerce and Trade. Rhodes was one of the most important centers of the commercial and trading life of the Greek world during the Hellenistic Age. It was the successor to the sea power of prehistoric Crete — the mountains of which on a clear day can be sighted from Rhodes — and to the sea empire of Athens in the period following the Persian Wars. It was the Venice of the age. Like early Crete, it was the relay station of the trade between Egypt and the Ægean, and it was largely this which made it a great emporium. It developed a strong naval force and kept the sea free from pirates. It acted as peacemaker and mediator in adjusting disputes between the cities of the Greek world.

In the second century B.C. the commercial power and renown of Rhodes awakened the jealousy of the Romans, who undermined the prosperity of the city by establishing a rival port on the island of Delos.

305. Rhodian Schools of Art and Oratory. Public art is a child of wealth. The commercial prosperity of Rhodes caused it to become during the Hellenistic period a great art center. One characteristic of Rhodian art was its tendency to bigness. A bronze statue of Helios erected by the Rhodians was so colossal (it was one hundred and five feet high) that it was numbered among the seven wonders of the world.[1] Besides this gigantic statue the city was crowded with

[1] The statue, however, was not as large as the statue of Liberty in New York harbor. The height of the latter is 151 feet. After standing about half a century, the Colossus was overthrown by an earthquake. Nine hundred years later it was broken up and sold for old metal.

thousands of others, many of which were of colossal size. The city became a favorite resort of artists, and the schools founded by them acquired a wide renown.

At the same time that Rhodes was nourishing its art schools, it was maintaining schools of rhetoric and oratory which gained great repute. Sons of well-to-do Roman families — Rome was now coming

FIG. 112. THE DYING GAUL. (Capitoline Museum)

A marble copy of a bronze original presented to Athens by Attalus I of Pergamum, about 200 B.C. in commemoration of his victory over the Gauls (Galatians)

into political relations with the Greek East and was learning to appreciate Greek culture — came hither in great numbers to become pupils in these famous schools.

V. PERGAMUM

306. Pergamum as a Center of Letters and Art. Another of the important artistic and literary centers of the Hellenistic world was Pergamum, the capital of a kingdom which at one time embraced a great part of western Asia Minor.[1] Through its great university and library the city gained the repute of being next to Alexandria in Egypt the most important center of letters in the Hellenistic

[1] This state came into existence 280 B.C. Its period of bloom was in the second century before our era. In the year 133 B.C. Attalus III died, bequeathing his kingdom to the Romans, who made it into a province of their empire under the name of Asia.

world. Parchment — it is worth noting that this word is derived from Pergamum — was here first extensively used for books in place of the paper made from the Egyptian papyrus,[1] the exportation of which the rulers of Egypt at this time forbade, as the entire output of the Egyptian manufactories was needed for the copyists at the great Alexandrian Library (sect. 310).

Along with this literary activity there ran an artistic development which is of great interest because of its close relation to the political

FIG. 113. A RESTORATION OF THE GREAT ALTAR OF ZEUS SOTER AT PERGAMUM

The gigantic figures that decorated the base are now in the Berlin Museum. This monument is doubtless what in Revelation (ii, 13) is called "Satan's seat." The early Christians, in their image-breaking zeal, so mutilated the statues that the modern excavators of the ruins found hardly a face unmarred

history of the period. For just as the great art of the age of Phidias received its inspiration from the sacrifices and achievements of the War of Liberation, so did the great Pergamene art receive its impulse from the exaltation of feeling that followed the victory of the princes of Pergamum over the savage Gauls (sect. 300), who at this time spread panic and terror throughout almost all Asia Minor. The feelings of exaltation and of gratitude to the gods for the great deliverance were embodied in a series of remarkable sculptures, among which are the so-called *Dying Gaul* (Fig. 112), and a great

[1] See above, p. 36, n. 1.

number of figures in high relief and of colossal size which decorated the four sides of the base of a great altar (Fig. 113) dedicated to Zeus the Deliverer in commemoration of the triumph over the Gallic marauders.[1] The subject of the sculpturings was the mythical contest of the gods with the earth-born giants,[2] which struggle seemed to the Greeks the counterpart of their own terrific fight with the uncouth and savage Gauls.

VI. THE SYRIAN KINGDOM

307. The Seleucidæ (312–65 B.C.). The Syrian kingdom during the two centuries and more of its existence played an important part in the civil history of the world. Under its first king it comprised nominally almost all the countries of Asia conquered by Alexander, thus stretching from the Hellespont to the Indus; but in reality the monarchy embraced only Asia Minor, part of Syria, and the old Assyria and Babylonia. Its rulers were called Seleucidæ, from the founder of the kingdom, Seleucus Nicator, famous as the builder of cities.

The successors of Seleucus Nicator led the kingdom through checkered fortunes. On different sides provinces fell away and became independent states.[3] At last, coming into collision with Rome, the kingdom was destroyed, and the lands embraced by it were incorporated with the Roman Republic.

308. Antioch and its Suburb, Daphne. The most important of the numerous cities founded by Seleucus was Antioch, on the Orontes, in northern Syria. Next to Alexandria in Egypt this was the largest and most splendid city of the Hellenistic world. It owed its prosperity and importance to the fact that it was one of the chief relay stations of the trade between the East and the West. To its docks and warehouses were brought, by heavily laden camel trains, the natural and manufactured products of all the regions of western and interior Asia

[1] The altar is supposed to have been built by Eumenes II (197–159 B.C.).

[2] See Gayley, *Classic Myths*. Consult index under "Giants."

[3] One of the most important of these was Parthia, a powerful non-Aryan state (from about 255 B.C. to 226 A.D.) that grew up east of the Euphrates in the lands which originally formed the heart and center of the old Persian Empire. Its kings were at first formidable enemies of the rulers of Syria, and later of the Romans.

for redistribution to every part of the Mediterranean world. It was in Antioch that the disciples of Christ were first called Christians (see Acts xi, 26).

About five miles from the city was the famous Grove of Daphne, a great pleasure ground, the natural beauty of which had been so enhanced by art as to make it one of the most beautiful spots of all the Mediterranean lands. It was the favorite resort of the voluptuous pleasure-seekers of the capital. Only Sybaris, in Italy (sect. 185), gained such a reputation for luxury and love of pleasure as Antioch won.

309. The Maccabean Revolt. In an earlier chapter on the Hebrews, mention was made of the reëstablishment of the Jewish state during parts of the second and first centuries preceding the Christian era (sect. 85). We are now in a better position to catch the significance of this revolution, which was one of the most important in ancient history.

At the opening of the second century the Jews had been under the rule of the Seleucidæ and surrounded by Greek influences for upwards of a century and a half. During this period the Hellenizing of the nation had proceeded far. In Jerusalem a great part of the Jews spoke the Greek language, wore the Greek costume, and imitated the Greek manner of life. Had this Hellenizing process gone on without interruption, the Jewish people might have become wholly denationalized and that religious and moral development which issued in Christianity have been arrested. This threatened calamity was averted in the way that similar menacing calamities in the lives of races have been averted time and again in history — by a bad king. This was Antiochus IV (surnamed Epiphanes), 176–164 B.C. Resolved upon the destruction of Judaism, he ordered all scrolls of the Law to be destroyed, prohibited the Jewish worship and the observance of the Sabbath, and finally, setting up a statue of Zeus Olympius on the great altar before the Temple in Jerusalem, substituted the worship of the Greek god for that of Jehovah. Those who refused to offer sacrifices on the pagan altars he put to death. Jerusalem was virtually transformed into a Greek colony. "Never," says the historian Renan, "had the fate of Israel been in more peril than at this evil epoch [about 172 B.C.]. A little

more, and the Hebrew Bible would have been lost, and the Jewish religion blotted out forever."[1]

At this crisis a reaction came. Those Jews who still clung to their ancestral inheritance revolted, and after a long fight under the heroic Maccabees, overcame their persecutors and reëstablished the worship of the Temple. From this time forward to the coming of the Romans, Judea was an independent state. Thus was Judaism saved to flower and fruit in Christianity and to make its unique and rich contribution to the growing spiritual and moral life of the world.

VII. THE KINGDOM OF THE PTOLEMIES IN EGYPT

310. The Ptolemies (323–30 B.C.). The Græco-Egyptian empire of the Ptolemies was by far the most important, in its influence upon the civilization of the world, of all the kingdoms that owed their origin to the conquests of Alexander. The founder of the dynasty was Ptolemy I (surnamed Soter), 323–283 B.C. Ptolemy was a general under Alexander, and seemed to possess much of his great commander's ability and restless energy, with a happy freedom from his worst faults.

Upon the partition of the empire of Alexander, Ptolemy had received Egypt, with parts of Arabia and Libya. To these he added by conquest Cœle-Syria, Phœnicia, Palestine, Cyrene, and Cyprus. Following the usage of the time, he transported a hundred thousand Jews from Jerusalem to Alexandria, attached them to his person and policies by wise and conciliatory measures, and thus effected, in such measure as was possible, at this great capital of the Nile, that fusion of the races of the East and the West which was the dream of Alexander. In its mixed population Alexandria was the Constantinople of its age.

Under Ptolemy, Alexandria became the great depot of exchange for the products of all the countries of the ancient world. At the entrance of the harbor stood the Pharos, or lighthouse, — the first structure of its kind, — which Ptolemy built to guide the fleets of the world to his capital. This edifice was reckoned one of the Seven Wonders (see Fig. 114 and accompanying note).

[1] *History of the People of Israel* (1895), vol. iv, p. 268.

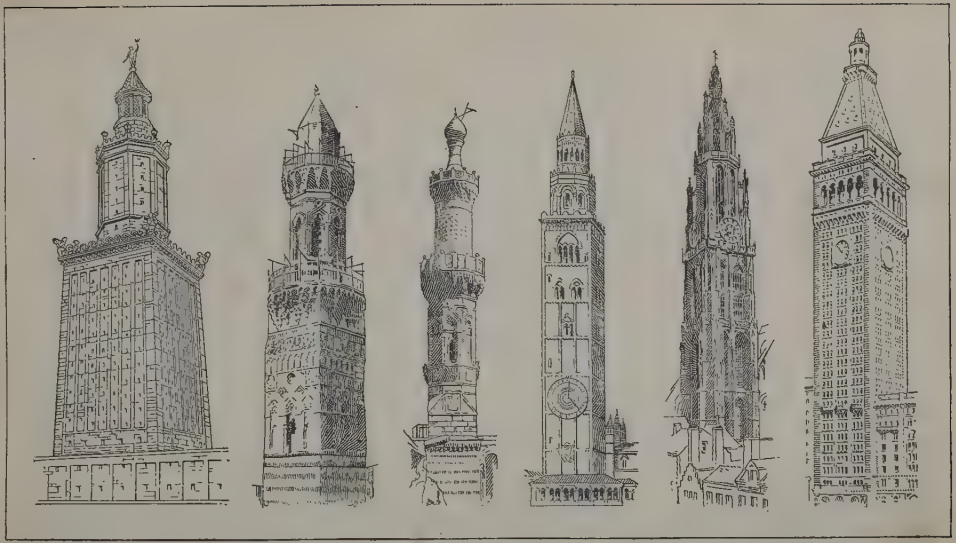
But it was not alone the exchange of material products that was comprehended in Ptolemy's scheme. His aim was to make his capital the intellectual center of the world — the place where the arts, sciences, literatures, and even the religions of the world should meet and mingle. He founded the famous Museum,[1] a sort of college, which became the "University of the East," and established the renowned Alexandrian Library. He encouraged poets, artists, philosophers, and teachers in all departments of learning to settle in Alexandria by conferring upon them immunities and privileges, and by gifts and a munificent patronage. His court embraced the learning and genius of the age.

Ptolemy Philadelphus (283–247 B.C.) followed closely in the footsteps of his father, carrying out as far as possible the plans and policies of the preceding reign. He added largely to the royal library, and extended to scholars the same liberal patronage that his father had before him. It was under his direction that the important Greek translation of the old Hebrew Scriptures was begun. From the traditional number of translators (Latin *septuaginta*, "seventy") the version is known as the *Septuagint*.

Altogether the Ptolemies reigned in Egypt almost exactly three centuries (323–30 B.C.). The rulers who held the throne for the last two hundred years were, with few exceptions, a succession of monsters, such as even Rome in her worst days could scarcely equal. The story of the beautiful but dissolute Cleopatra, the last of the house of the Ptolemies, belongs properly to the history of Rome, which city was now interfering in the affairs of the Orient. In the year 30 B.C., the year which marks the death of Cleopatra, Egypt was made a Roman province.

311. Conclusion. We have now traced the political fortunes of the Greek race through about six centuries of authentic history. In succeeding chapters, in order to render more complete the picture we have endeavored to draw of ancient Hellas, we shall add some details respecting Hellenic art, literature, philosophy, and society — details which could not well have been introduced in the foregoing

[1] "The Museum was the first example of a permanent institution for the cultivation of pure science founded by a government; that was something great." — HOLM



1. The Alexandrian Pharos. (Restoration by Thiersch)
2. Thirteenth-century minaret (Cairo, Egypt)
3. Seventeenth-century minaret (Cairo, Egypt)
4. Thirteenth-century campanile (Cremona, Italy)
5. Seventeenth-century Gothic cathedral tower (Netherlands)
6. Metropolitan Life Building (New York)

FIG. 114. SHOWING THE INFLUENCE OF THE MASTER-FORM OF THE PHAROS ON THE EVOLUTION OF THE MOSLEM MINARET AND THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH TOWER

The Alexandrian Pharos was built about 280 B.C. Its artist was Sostratus. It was the first of an entirely new kind of building, and one of the greatest contributions of the Greek artistic genius to the architecture of the world. The tower was probably about four hundred feet high, and was built in three diminishing stages, the first being square, the second octagonal, and the third round. "The fame of Sostratus is that he merged these three forms in a unified whole — in an epoch-making form which was never afterwards lost or given up." The Pharos was before the eyes of the world as one of the Seven Wonders for more than fifteen hundred years (after being repeatedly injured by earthquakes, it was finally completely destroyed in 1326). Inevitably it became a model in tower construction It was the prototype of the Egyptian Moslem minaret and of a great series of Western church towers or steeples. No. 2 of the series is a minaret in Cairo erected 1290–1303. Obviously the model of this was the Pharos. The minaret reproduces the chief characteristic of the Greek tower, namely, the square base, the octagonal second story, and the cylindrical third story. No. 3, which is a Cairo minaret erected in 1628, shows how under Asiatic influence the at first heavy and massive tower was in the course of time transformed into the graceful and slender cylindrical minaret of the present day. Not only do the minarets of Egypt plainly point to the Pharos as their prototype, but so do also those of all the lands that ever came under Egyptian political domination. Similarly did the Pharos influence the development of the Western church tower. As early as the eleventh century the Italian coast cities had come into close trade relations with the Orient. Venice assumed the place left vacant by the decay of Alexandria. The Pharos was at this time still standing, and was imitated by the Italian builders. Many of the campanili of Italy show plainly their derivation from the Alexandrian tower (see 4, the campanile of the cathedral of Cremona). Even the Gothic art of northern Europe could not escape the influence of the master-form of the Pharos, as appears in the tower of the celebrated cathedral of Antwerp (see 5). The Gothic tower builders, however, did not draw their inspiration directly from Egypt. The Romans were the mediators here. In the time of Augustus the Roman architects, impressed by the great Hellenistic invention of the Pharos-type, introduced this form into Italy and southern France. It was these Roman structures (there is a ruined Roman tower of this type still to be seen at Nîmes) that the early Gothic builders imitated. "Thus may the principle of the Gothic tower," as Thiersch maintains, "in the final analysis, be carried back to the Alexandrian Pharos." Likewise would a final analysis doubtless trace back to the same source the characteristic outer form of many of the great sky-scrapers of to-day (see 6). For a comprehensive study of the subject, see Hermann Thiersch, *Pharos Antike, Islam und Occident* (1909), from which work the above facts have been drawn

chapters without interrupting the movement of the narrative. Even a short study of these matters will help us to form a more adequate conception of that wonderful, many-sided genius of the Hellenic race which enabled Hellas, "captured, to lead captive her captor."

Selections from the Sources. PLUTARCH, *Philopœmen* and *Aratus*. Davis's *Readings* (Greece), pp. 322–329; Fling's *Source Book*, pp. 330–338.

References (Modern). HOLM, vol. iv (the best history in English of the period). GROTE (ten-volume ed.), vol. x, pp. 213–326. GARDNER, *New Chapters in Greek History*, chap. xv, "The Successors of Alexander and Greek Civilization in the East." MAHAFFY, *The Story of Alexander's Empire*, chaps. vi–xxxii; *Greek Life and Thought from the Age of Alexander to the Roman Conquest*; *A Survey of Greek Civilization*, chaps. viii, ix; and *The Progress of Hellenism in Alexander's Empire*. FREEMAN, *History of Federal Government*, chaps. v–ix (gives with great fullness the history of the Achæan and the Ætolian League). DAVIDSON, *The Education of the Greek People*, chap. viii, "Greek Education in Contact with the Great Eastern World." DRAPER, *Intellectual Development of Europe* (consult index) (has an account of the Alexandrian Museum). WALDEN, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, chap. iii. HOGARTH, *The Ancient East*, chap. vi.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. The Museum and Library at Alexandria: Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought*, chap. ix, pp. 192–197. 2. Rhodes as a center of Hellenistic culture: Holm, *History of Greece*, vol. iv, chap. xxii; Mahaffy, *Story of Alexander's Empire*, chap. xx (last part). 3. The Stoics and the Epicureans: Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 256–264. 4. The Grove of Daphne at Antioch: Lew Wallace, *Ben Hur*, bk. iv, chaps. v, vi.

CHAPTER XXVII

GREEK ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING

312. Relation of Greek Art to that of Earlier Cultures. Greek art in all its forms was in the main a creation of the Greek artistic faculty and spirit. Speaking of its possible heritage, Professor Gardner compares the art of the Greeks to their literature. As in literature the Greeks borrowed their alphabet but with it made a literature that was essentially a pure embodiment of their own ideas and spirit, so was it in their art. The alphabet of it may have been borrowed, but the developed art was an original product of the Greek artistic genius.[1]

313. The Greek Sense of Beauty. The Greeks were artists by nature; at least, all classes, the uneducated as well as the educated, seem to have had a refined taste in art matters. With us it is generally true that only the instructed have good artistic taste. Everything the Greeks made, from the shrines for their gods to the meanest utensils of domestic use, was beautiful. "Ugliness gave them pain like a blow." Beauty they placed next to holiness; indeed, they almost or quite made beauty and moral goodness the same thing. It is said that it was noted by the Greeks as something strange and exceptional that Socrates was good, notwithstanding he was ugly in his features.

The first maxim in Greek art was the same as that which formed the first principle in Greek morality — "Nothing in excess." The Greek eye was offended at any exaggeration of parts, at any lack of proportion in an object. The proportions of the Greek temple are perfect. Any deviations from the canons of the Greek artists are found to be departures from the ideal.

Clearness of outline was another requirement of Greek taste. The æsthetic Greek had a positive dislike of all vagueness or indistinctness

[1] Percy Gardner, *The Principles of Greek Art* (1914), p. 72.

of form. Contrast the clear-cut lines of a Greek temple with the vague, vanishing lines of a mediæval Gothic cathedral.

It is possible that Nature herself taught the Greeks these first principles of their art. Nature in Greece never goes to extremes. The mountains and islands are never overlarge. The climate is rarely excessively cold or oppressively hot. And Nature here seems to abhor vagueness. The singular transparency of the atmosphere, especially of that of Attica, lends a remarkable clearness of outline to

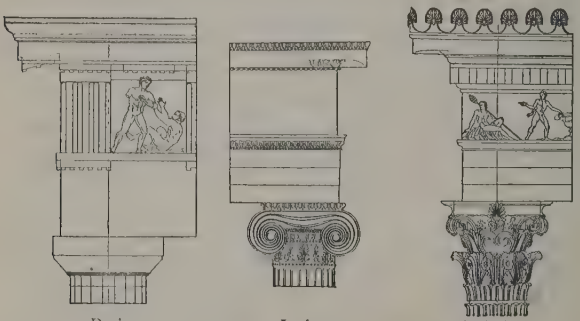


FIG. 115. ORDERS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE[1]

every object. The Parthenon in its clear-cut features seems modeled after the hills that lie with such absolute clearness of form against the Attic sky.

I. ARCHITECTURE

314. Orders of Greek Architecture. By the close of the sixth century Greek architecture had made considerable advance and presented three distinct styles, or orders. These are commonly known as the Doric, the Ionic, and the Corinthian[1] (Fig. 115). They are distinguished from one another chiefly by differences in the proportions and ornamentation of the column.

[1] By some the Corinthian style is regarded as a suborder developed from the Ionic. See Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology* (1909), p. 112.

The Doric column, derived from the Mycenæan, is without a base and has a perfectly plain capital. At first the Doric temples of the Greeks were almost as massive as those of the Egyptian builders, but gradually they grew less heavy as they became permeated with the freer Greek spirit.

The Ionic column is characterized chiefly by the volutes, or spiral scrolls, of its capital, but is also marked by its fluting, its base, and its slender proportions. This form was principally employed by the Greeks of Ionia, whence its name.

The Corinthian order is distinguished by its rich capital, formed of acanthus leaves. The addition of the acanthus leaves is said to have been suggested to the artist Callimachus by the pretty effect of a basket surrounded by the leaves of an acanthus plant, upon which it had accidentally fallen. This order was not much employed in Greece before the time of Alexander the Great.

The entire structure was made to harmonize with its supporting columns. The general characteristics of the orders are happily suggested by the terms we use when we speak of the *severe* Doric, the *graceful* Ionic, and the *ornate* Corinthian.

Speaking of the place which these styles held in Greek architecture and have held in that of the world since Greek times, an eminent authority says, "We may admit that the invention and perfecting of these orders of Greek architecture has been (with one exception — the introduction of the arch) the most important event in the architectural history of the world."

315. Greek Architecture chiefly Sacred; Early Greek Temples. Religion was the very breath of Greek architecture. It was religious feeling which created the noblest monuments of the architectural genius of Hellas. Hence in the few words which we shall have to say concerning Greek architecture our attention will be confined almost exclusively to the temples of Greece.

In the earliest times the Greeks had no temples; the statues of the gods were placed beneath the shelter of a tree or within its hollow trunk. After a time a building rudely constructed of the trunks of trees and shaped like the habitations of men marked the first step in advance. Then stone took the place of the wooden

frame. With the introduction of a durable material the artist was encouraged to expend more labor and care upon his work. At the same time he received helpful hints from the old builders of the East. Thus architecture began to make rapid strides, and by the century following the age of Solon at Athens there were many beautiful temples in different parts of the Hellenic world.

316. The Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. One of the oldest as well as most beautiful of Greek edifices of the Ionic order was the temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus.[1] The original rude prehistoric shrine was several times restored and enlarged. Towards the end of the sixth century a temple of great size and grandeur was begun, which was one hundred and twenty years in process of building. It was this structure that, in the year 356 B.C., on the same night, it is said, that Alexander was born, an ambitious youth named Herostratus, set aflame simply to render his name immortal. The temple was restored with increased magnificence. It was known far and wide as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. The value of the gifts and votive offerings to the temple was beyond all calculation; kings and cities vied with one another in the cost and splendor of their donations. Painters and sculptors were eager to have their masterpieces assigned a place within its walls, so that it became a great national gallery of paintings and statuary.[2]

Just after the middle of the third century of our era the barbarian Goths robbed the shrine and left it a ruin. Builders of a later date used the ruins as a stone quarry. Some of the celebrated jasper columns of the temple may be seen to-day in the great mosque (once the church of Santa Sophia) at Constantinople.

1 See Acts xix, 21–41.

2 Besides being in a sense museums, the temples of the Greeks were also banks of deposit. The priests often loaned out on interest the money deposited with them, the revenue from this source being added to that from the leased lands of the temple and from the tithes of war booty to meet the expenses of the services of the shrine. Usually the temple property in Greece was managed solely by the priests, but the treasure of the Parthenon at Athens formed an exception to this rule. The treasure here belonged to the state, and was controlled and disposed of by the vote of the people. Even the personal property of the goddess, the gold drapery of the statue, which was worth 500 talents (about $600,000), could be used in case of great need; but it must be replaced in due time, with a fair interest.

PLATE XIII. GENERAL VIEW OF OLYMPIA. (A restoration by *Thiersch*)

317. The Delphian Temple. The first temple erected at Delphi over the spot whence issued the mysterious vapors (sect. 158) was a rude wooden structure. In the year 548 B.C. the temple then standing was destroyed by fire. All the cities and states of Hellas contributed to its rebuilding.

The later structure was impressive both from its colossal size and from the massive simplicity that characterizes the Doric style of architecture. It was crowded with the spoils of many battlefields, with the rich gifts of kings, and with rare works of art. After remaining

FIG. 116. THE PARTHENON. (From a photograph)

"A summary of all that is best and most characteristic in Greek architecture and sculpture." — Ernest A. Gardner

long secure, through the awe and reverence which its oracle inspired, it finally, like the temple at Ephesus, suffered frequent spoliation. The Phocians despoiled the temple of a treasure equivalent, it is estimated, to more than ten million dollars (sect. 274), and later the Romans seem to have stripped it bare of its art treasures.[1]

318. The Athenian Parthenon. We have already glanced at the Parthenon, the sanctuary of the virgin goddess Athena, upon the Acropolis at Athens (sect. 243). This temple, which is built in the Doric order, of marble from the neighboring Pentelicus, is regarded as the finest specimen of Greek architecture. The art

[1] At all events the spade has turned up comparatively few relics on the site of the temple, which was thoroughly excavated towards the close of the last century.

exhibited in its construction is an art of ideal perfection. After standing for more than two thousand years, and having served successively as a pagan temple, a Christian church, and a Mohammedan mosque, it finally was made to serve as a Turkish powder magazine in a war with the Venetians in 1687. During the progress of this contest a bomb ignited the magazine, and more than half of the wonderful masterpiece was shivered into fragments. Even in its ruined state the structure constitutes the most highly prized memorial that we possess of the builders of the ancient world.[1]

319. Olympia and the Temple of Zeus Olympius. The sacred plain of the Alpheus in Elis was, as we have learned, the spot where were held the celebrated Olympic games. Here was raised a magnificent Doric temple consecrated to Zeus Olympius, and around it were grouped a vast number of shrines, treasure-houses, porticoes, and various other structures.

For many centuries these buildings adorned the consecrated spot and witnessed the recurring festivals. But in the fifth century of our era the Christian emperor Theodosius II ordered their destruction, as monuments of paganism, and the splendid structures were given to the flames. Earthquakes, landslips, and the floods of the Alpheus and the Cladeus completed in time the work of destruction and buried the ruins beneath a thick layer of earth.

For centuries the desolate spot remained unvisited; but late in the last century the Germans thoroughly excavated the site. The remains unearthed were of such an extensive nature as to make possible a restoration of the noble assemblage of buildings (Pl. XIII) which we may believe re-creates with fidelity the scene looked upon by the visitor to Olympia in the days of its architectural glory.

320. Theaters and Other Structures. The Greek theater was nearly semicircular in form, and open to the sky, as shown in the accompanying cut (Fig. 117). The structure comprised three divisions: first, the semicircle of seats for the spectators; second, the orchestra, or dancing place for the chorus, which occupied the space in front of the lower range of seats; and third, in later times at least, a stage or platform for the actors.

[1] For short notices of other buildings at Athens, see sect. 243.

The most noted of Greek theaters was the Theater of Dionysus at Athens, which was the model of all the others. It was cut partly in the native rock on the southeastern slope of the Acropolis, the Greeks in the construction of their theaters generally taking advantage of a hillside. The structure probably would seat about twenty thousand spectators.[1]

321. Stadia. The Greek stadium, in which foot races and other festival games were held, was a narrow rectangular enclosure between six and seven hundred feet in length (Fig. 118). In its construction,

FIG. 117. THE THEATER OF DIONYSUS AT ATHENS. (From a photograph)

as in that of the theater, advantage was usually taken of a hillside, or of a trough between two ridges, the slopes of which gave standing-ground for the spectators or, in later times, formed the foundation for tiers of wooden or stone seats. A magnificent colonnade often crowned the structure. There was a stadium at each of the four places where the great national sacred games were held, and, indeed, at all the chief places of assemblage in the Greek world.

322. The Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. This structure was a monumental tomb designed to preserve the memory of Mausolus, king of Caria, who died 352 B.C. The chief remains of the mausoleum are

[1] On account of the ruined condition of the upper part of the structure, it is impossible to make a close estimate of its seating capacity.

numerous sculptures dug up on the site and now preserved in the British Museum. It is the tradition of this beautiful structure that has given the world a name for all monuments of unusual magnificence raised in memory of the dead.

II. SCULPTURE

323. Beginnings of Greek Sculpture. The relation of the sculpture of the Mycenæan Age to that of historic times in Greece is unknown.

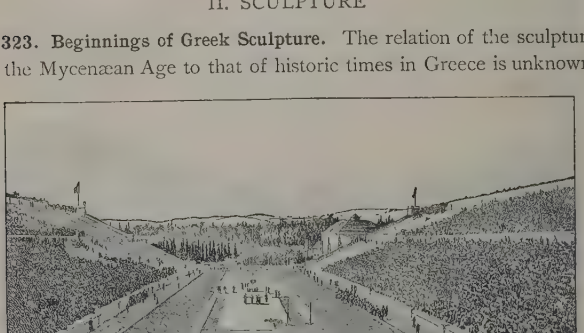


FIG. 118. STADIUM AT ATHENS. (From a photograph)

It is probable, however, that in the art of the Mycenæan period we may recognize the rudiments, the alphabet, as it were, of the art of the age of Phidias. "And as the Mycenæan people were probably not exterminated, but absorbed, some of the skill of hand and eye which had found scope in the monuments of the prehistoric age may have been of avail in aiding the rise of an art which was essentially Greek."[1]

However this may be, the earliest art in Greece to which we may without hesitation apply the term *Hellenic* exhibits distinct marks

[1] Percy Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art* (1914), p. 73.

of oriental influence. From both Egypt and Assyria the early Greek artist received models in gold, silver, ivory, and other material, decorative designs, and a knowledge of technical processes. But this was all. The Greek was never a servile imitator. His true artistic feeling caused him to reject everything unnatural and grotesque in the designs and models of the Eastern artists, while his kindling genius breathed into the rigid figures of the oriental sculptor the breath of life, and endowed them with the beauty and grace of the living form. From the beginning of the sixth century B.C. forward to the fifth we can trace clearly the growing excellence of Greek sculpture until it blooms in the supreme beauty of the art of the Pericleah Age.

FIG. 119. THE WRESTLERS

"Particularly were the games promotive of sculpture, since they afforded the sculptor living models for his art" (sect. 161)

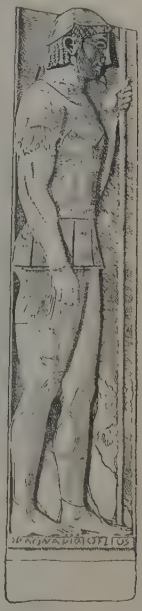


FIG. 120. STELE OF ARISTION

Example of archaic Attic sculpture

324. Influence of the Olympic Games and the Gymnasium upon Greek Sculpture. Towards the latter part of the sixth century B.C. it became the custom to set up images of the victors in the Olympic games. It was probably this custom that gave one of the earliest impulses to Greek sculpture. The grounds at Olympia became crowded with "a band of chosen youth in imperishable forms."

In still another way did the Olympic contests and the exercises of the gymnasia exert a most helpful influence upon Greek sculpture. They afforded the artist unrivaled opportunities for the study of the human form. "The whole race," as Symonds says,

"lived out its sculpture and its painting, rehearsed, as it were, the great works of Phidias and Polygnotus, in physical exercises, before it learned to express itself in marble or in color."

As the sacred buildings increased in number and costliness the services of the artist were called into requisition for their adornment. Every available space was filled with statues and groups of figures executed by the most renowned artists and representing the national deities, the legendary heroes, victors at the public games, or incidents in the life of the state in which piety saw the special interposition of the god in whose honor the shrine had been raised.

FIG. 121. THE CHARIOTEER (Date about 477 B.C. — artist unknown; found at Delphi)

"The bronze charioteer is, on the whole, the finest Greek bronze statue in existence." — Fowler and Wheeler

325. The Archaic Period, down to the Persian Wars. Among the oldest remains of Greek sculpture are specimens of carvings in relief. A good example of this archaic phase of Greek sculpture is seen in the tombstone of Aristion (Fig. 120), discovered in Attica in 1838. The date of this work is placed at about 500 B.C. A sort of Assyrian or Egyptian rigidity still binds the limbs of the figure; still there are suggestions of the grace and freedom of a truer and higher art.[1]

326. The Period of Perfection of Greek Sculpture: the Age of Phidias. Greek sculpture was at its best in the last three quarters of the fifth century B.C., when art, like all other Greek activities, felt the thrill and stimulation of the great achievements of the War of Liberation. Our space will permit us merely to mention three or

[1] Other specimens of this early art are the sculptures of a temple of the city of Selinus in Sicily (date about 600 B.C.) and the celebrated figures of the temple at Ægina, now in the Museum of Munich.

four of the great sculptors who contributed to the glory of the age, and name what the world regards as their masterpieces.

Myron, whose best work was executed probably about 460 B.C., was a contemporary of Phidias. His works were chiefly in bronze. They were strikingly lifelike. It is told that he once made a cow which was so true to life that passing shepherds tried to drive it off with their herds. One of his most celebrated pieces was the *Discobolus*, or "Discus-thrower," which represents the athlete just in the act of pitching the discus. The accompanying cut (Fig. 122) is from a copy in marble of the bronze original.[1]

FIG. 122. THROWING THE DISCUS, OR QUOIT. (The "Discobolus of Myron," Vatican Museum)

"For its age one of the most wonderful of human works." — Percy Gardner

But the preëminent sculptor of this period of perfection was Phidias. "Myron," says the historian Holm, "brought art to the verge of perfection, Phidias conducted it into the sanctuary itself." Phidias was almost the only Greek sculptor whose name really lived in the memory and imagination of the Middle Ages. He was an Athenian and was born about 488 B.C. He delighted in the beautiful myths and legends of the heroic age, and from these often drew subjects for his art.

Phidias being an architect as well as a sculptor, his patron Pericles gave into his hands the general superintendence of those magnificent buildings with which the Athenians at just this time were adorning

[1] Almost all the masterpieces of the Greek sculptors have perished; they are known to us only through copies. But to these copies is attributed by archæologists a special value, since they represent, in the language of Furtwängler, "that pick of the masterpieces of the classical epoch which pleased ancient taste and connoisseurship in the times of the highest culture."

their city. It was his genius which, as already mentioned, created the marvelous figures of the pediments and of the frieze of the Parthenon.[1]

The most celebrated of his colossal sculptures were the statue of the goddess Athena within the Parthenon and that of Olympian Zeus in the temple at Olympia. The statue of Athena was about forty feet in height, and was constructed of ivory and gold, the hair, weapons, sandals, and drapery being of the latter material.

FIG. 123. ATHENIAN YOUTH IN PROCESSION. (From the frieze of the Parthenon)

The statue of Olympian Zeus was also of ivory and gold. It was sixty feet high and represented the god seated on his throne. The hair, beard, and drapery were of gold. The eyes were brilliant stones. Gems of great value decked the throne, and figures of exquisite design were sculptured on the golden robe. The colossal proportions of this wonderful work, as well as the lofty yet benign aspect of the

[1] That is to say, the designs were his; but a great part of the actual sculpturing must have been done by other hands working under the direction of the master mind. The subject of the wonderful frieze was the procession which formed the most important feature of the Athenian festival known as the Great Panathenæa, which was celebrated every four years in honor of the patron goddess of Athens. The greater part of the frieze and of the pediment statues are now in the British Museum, the Parthenon having been largely despoiled of its coronal of sculptures by Lord Elgin. Read Lord Byron's *The Curse of Minerva*. To the poet Lord Elgin's act appeared worse than vandalism.

countenance, harmonized well with the popular conception of the majesty and grace of the "father of gods and men." It was thought a great misfortune to die without having seen the *Olympian Zeus*.[1] The statue was in existence for eight hundred years. It is believed to have been carried to Constantinople and to have perished there in a conflagration in the fifth century A.D.[2]

FIG. 124. ATHENA PARTHENOS

After a statue found at Athens in 1880, which is supposed to be a copy, executed in the second century of our era, of the colossal statue of Athena by Phidias

327. Polyclitus and Pæonius. At the same time that Phidias was executing his ideal representations of the gods, Polyclitus the Elder, whose home was at Argos, was producing his renowned bronze statues of athletes. Among his pieces was one representing a spear bearer, which was regarded as so perfect as to be known as "the Rule."[3]

Another name belonging to this period of bloom has been given new renown by the fresh art treasures recovered at Olympia. Among the sculptures exhumed was a *Nike*, or "Victory" (Fig. 126), by the artist Pæonius. This beautiful statue was, according to a tradition current in the time of Pausanias, set up

FIG. 125. HEAD OF THE OLYMPIAN ZEUS BY PHIDIAS. (From a coin)

[1] "Phidias avowed that he took his idea from the representation which Homer gives in the first book of the *Iliad* in the passage thus translated by Pope:

"He spake, and awful bends his sable brow,
Shakes his ambrosial curls, and gives the nod,
The stamp of fate and sanction of the god.
High heaven with reverence the dread signal took,
And all Olympus to the center shook."

BULFINCH, *Age of Fable*

[2] Phidias met an unmerited fate. He was prosecuted on the charge of sacrilege because he introduced among the figures on the shield of Athena portraits of his patron Pericles and himself. According to Plutarch, he died in prison.

[3] Other celebrated works of Polyclitus were his *Amazon* and his *Hera* — the latter a gold and ivory statue which was greatly admired by his contemporaries.

at Olympia by the Messenians in commemoration of the humiliation inflicted upon the Spartans, their age-long oppressors, by the affair at Sphacteria during the course of the Peloponnesian War (sect. 254).

328. Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus (fourth century B.C.). Though Greek sculpture attained its highest perfection in the fifth century, still the following century produced sculptors whose work possessed qualities of rare excellence. Among the names of this period those of Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus hold a chief place. Scopas (flourished about 395–350 B.C.) was one of the sculptors who cut the figures of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus. To him, or to one of his school, is also ascribed by some the famous composition known as the *Niobe Group*.

FIG. 126. NIKE, OR VICTORY, OF PÆONIUS. (Found at Olympia)

"It might almost be said that in the plastic art of all times and all peoples there is no human figure that gives such an illusion of floating and flying." — Furtwängler

But the most eminent sculptor of this period was Praxiteles (period of activity about 360–340 B.C.), of whom it has been said that he "rendered into stone the moods of the soul." Among his chief pieces may be mentioned the *Cnidian Aphrodite*, the *Satyr*, and the *Hermes*. The first of these, which stood in the temple of Aphrodite at Cnidus, was regarded by the ancients as the most perfect embodiment of the goddess of beauty. Pilgrimages were made from remote countries to Cnidus for the sake of looking upon the matchless statue. Many copies were set up in different cities. The *Satyr* also was greatly admired by the ancients and was often copied. The copy in the Capitoline Museum, at Rome, — the one made known to all the world through Hawthorne's romance of the *Marble Faun*, — is merely one of the finest of the existing copies of the masterpiece.

The *Hermes* was set up in the temple of Hera at Olympia. To the great joy of archæologists this precious memorial of antiquity

was discovered by the German excavators of Olympia in 1877, so that now we possess an undoubtedly original work, though not the best, of one of the great masters of Greek sculpture (Fig. 127).

Lysippus, a native of Sicyon, is renowned for his works in bronze.[1] His period of activity falls in the last half of the fourth century B.C. His statues were in great demand. Alexander gave the artist many orders for statues of himself, and, it is said, would permit no other artist to portray him.

FIG. 127. HERMES WITH THE INFANT DIONYSUS

An original work of Praxiteles, found in 1877 at Olympia

329. Sculpture in the Hellenistic Age.[2] The Hellenistic period has been called the Silver Age of Greek art, this term of course implying the inferior character of its products compared with the works of the preceding age. But in truth some of the finest pieces of Greek sculpture were produced during this period. Among such are the *Victory of Samothrace* (Fig. 128), the so-called *Sarcophagus of Alexander* (Fig. 111), and probably the *Aphrodite of Melos* (Fig. 129), which are masterpieces of the Greek artistic genius.

Along with these works which preserve the qualities of the purest Hellenic art there are others which mark a great change in taste, and which may be designated as Hellenistic. Thus one of the tendencies of the sculpture of the age, in contrast with the restraint,

[1] The statue of Sophocles (Fig. 135) is after Lysippus.

[2] Several of the most remarkable works of sculpture of this period — the *Colossus of Rhodes* (sect. 305), the *Dying Gaul* (sect. 306), and the giant figures of the Pergamene Altar (sect. 306) — have already been noticed in connection with the political events with which they stand in close relation.

dignity, and quiet charm of pure Attic art, is the portrayal of violent action and passion. The most famous work showing this characteristic is the group known as the *Laocoön* (Fig. 130).

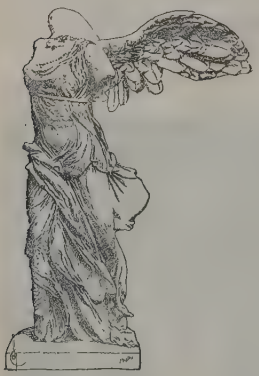


FIG. 128. THE NIKE, OR VICTORY, OF SAMOTHRACE. (Louvre, Paris)

Set up on the island of Samothrace by Demetrius Poliorcetes of Macedonia in commemoration of a naval victory over Ptolemy of Egypt in 306 B.C.

Another characteristic of Hellenistic sculpture is its fondness for the representation of rustic or simple everyday life and scenes. As a good example of this tendency we show the fine relief of a peasant driving a cow to market (see illustration at end of this chapter). This tendency in art, it is interesting to note, had its counterpart in literature in the idylls of Theocritus (sect. 352).

FIG. 129. APHRODITE OF MILOS
"Venus of Milo" (Louvre, Paris)

III. PAINTING

330. Introductory. Not a single work of any great painter of Greek antiquity has survived the accidents of time. Consequently our knowledge of Greek painting is derived in the main from vase paintings, from some interesting portraits (dating probably from the second century of our era), found in graves in Lower Egypt (see Fig. 131), and from Roman wall-paintings and mosaics which were copies of celebrated paintings by Greek masters. In addition, however, to this material on which to

base an opinion we have the description by old writers of renowned paintings, and their anecdotes of great painters. These classic stories are always epigrams of criticism, and thus possess a technical as well as a literary and historical value.

331. Polygnotus. Polygnotus (flourished 475–455 B.C.) has been called the Prometheus of painting, because he was the first to give fire and animation to the expression of the countenance. "In his hand," it is affirmed, "the human features became for the first time the mirror of the soul." He seems to have excelled in the expression of pathos. Of a Polyxena[1] painted by this great master it was said that she "carried in her eyelids the whole history of the Trojan War."

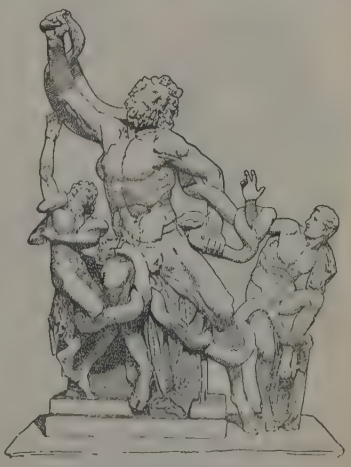


FIG. 130. THE LAOCOÖN GROUP
(Vatican Museum)

Found at Rome in 1506. The subject represented is the cruel suffering inflicted upon Laocoön, a Trojan priest, and his two sons, through the agency of terrible serpents sent by Athena, whose anger Laocoön had incurred (see *Æneid*, ii, 212–224)

332. Zeuxis and Parrhasius. These great artists lived and painted in the later years of the fifth century B.C. A favorite and familiar story preserves their names as companions and commemorates their rival genius. Zeuxis, such is the story, painted a cluster of grapes which so closely imitated the real fruit that the birds pecked at them. His rival, for his piece, painted a curtain. Zeuxis asked Parrhasius to draw aside the veil and exhibit his picture. "I confess I am surpassed," generously admitted Zeuxis to his rival; "I deceived birds, but you have deceived the eyes of an experienced artist."

[1] Polyxena was a daughter of the Trojan Priam, famous for her beauty and sufferings.

333. Apelles. Apelles, who has been called the "Raphael of antiquity," was the court painter of Alexander the Great. He was such a consummate master of the art of painting and carried it to such a state of perfection that the ancient writers spoke of it as the "Art of Apelles."

That Apelles, like Zeuxis and Parrhasius, painted lifelike pictures is shown by the following story. In a contest between him and some rival artists, horses were the objects represented. Perceiving that the judges were unfriendly to him, Apelles insisted that less prejudiced judges, namely, some horses that were near, should pronounce upon the merit of the respective pieces. When brought before the pictures of his rivals the horses exhibited no concern; but upon being shown the painting of Apelles they manifested by neighing and other intelligent signs their instant recognition of the companions the great master had created.

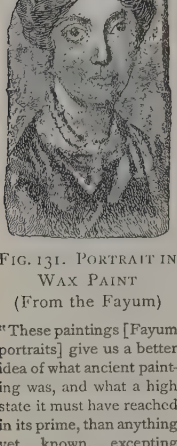


FIG. 131. PORTRAIT IN WAX PAINT (From the Fayum)

"These paintings [Fayum portraits] give us a better idea of what ancient painting was, and what a high state it must have reached in its prime, than anything yet known, excepting some Pompeian frescoes."
— Flinders Petrie

In the hands of Apelles Greek painting attained its highest excellence. After him the art declined, and no other really great name appears.

Selection from the Sources. PAUSANIAS, x. 25–31 (description of the paintings of Polygnotus at Delphi).

References (Modern). HAMLIN, *Text-book of the History of Architecture*, chaps. vi, vii. FOWLER and WHEELER, *Greek Archæology*. RICHARDSON, *History of Greek Sculpture*. REINACH, *Apollo*, chaps. iv–ix. MURRAY, *Handbook of Greek Archæology*; *A History of Greek Sculpture*, 2 vols.; and *The Sculptures of the Parthenon*. PERROT and CHIPIEZ, *History of Art in Primitive Greece*, 2 vols. E. A. GARDNER, *Ancient Athens* and *Handbook of Greek Sculpture*. DIEHL, *Excursions in Greece*, chap. iv (gives the results of excavations made on the Acropolis of Athens during the years 1882–1889). FURTWÄNGLER, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*. VON MACH, *Greek Sculpture: its Spirit and Principles*. PERCY GARDNER, *Principles of Greek Art*. TARBELL, *A History of Greek Art*. HARRISON, *Introductory Studies in Greek Art*. PARRY, *The Two Great*

Art Epochs (first part). Teachers will enjoy PATER, *Greek Studies*. Consult also by means of indexes and tables of contents the histories of CURTIUS, GROTE, ABBOTT, and HOLM.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Greek art as a reflection of Greek history: Percy Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, chap. xix, "Art in Relation to History." 2. Building material and methods: Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology*, chap. ii, pp. 96–108. 3. The Great Altar of Zeus Soter at Pergamum: Reinach, *Apollo*, pp. 69, 70; Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology*, pp. 181–183, 284–286. 4. Attic art: Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xvi. 5. Greek painting and mosaic: Fowler and Wheeler, *Greek Archæology*, chap. ix; Percy Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, chap. xii.

CHAPTER XXVIII

GREEK LITERATURE

I. INTRODUCTORY

334. The Greeks as Literary Artists. It was that same exquisite sense of fitness and proportion and beauty which made the Greeks artists in marble that also made them artists in language. "Of all the beautiful things which they created," says Professor Jebb, "their own language was the most beautiful." This language they wrought into epics and lyrics and dramas and histories and orations as incomparable in form and beauty as their temples and statues.

Even the Greek philosophers arranged and expressed their ideas and speculations with such regard to the rules of literary art that many of their productions are fairly entitled to a place in literature proper. Especially is this true of the earlier Greek philosophers, who wrote in hexameter verse, and of Plato, in whose works the profoundest speculations are embodied in the most perfect literary form. But since Greek philosophy, viewed as a system of thought, had a development distinct from that of Greek literature proper, we shall deal with it in a separate chapter, contenting ourselves here with merely pointing out the unusually close connection in ancient Greece between philosophy and literature.

335. Periods of Greek Literature. Greek literature, for the time covered by our history, is usually divided into three periods, as follows: (1) the period before 475 B.C.; (2) the Attic or Golden Age (475–300 B.C.); (3) the Alexandrian Age (300–146 B.C.).

The first period gave birth to epic and lyric poetry; the second, to history, oratory, and, above all, to dramatic literature; while the third period was one of decline, during which the productions of the preceding epochs were worked over and commented upon or feebly imitated.

II. THE PERIOD BEFORE 475 B.C.

336. Epic Poetry: the Homeric Poems. The most precious literary products of the springtime of Greece, as we have learned (sect. 167), are the so-called Homeric poems — the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

Until the rise of modern German criticism these poems were almost universally ascribed to a single bard named Homer, who was believed to have lived about the middle of the ninth century B.C., one or two centuries after the events commemorated in his poems. Tradition represents seven different cities as contending for the honor of having been his birthplace. He traveled widely (so it was believed), lost his sight, and then as a wandering minstrel sang his immortal verses to admiring listeners in the different cities of Hellas.

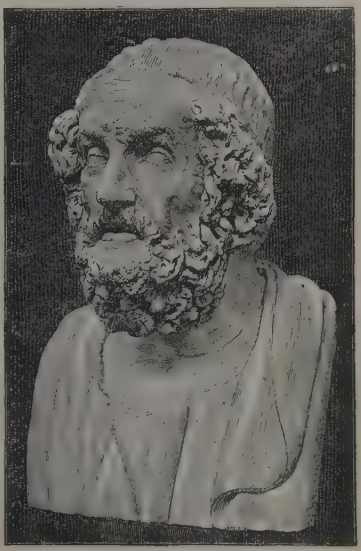


FIG. 132. HOMER
Ideal portrait of the Hellenistic Age

But it is now the opinion of the majority of scholars that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as they stand today, are not, either of them, the creation of a single poet. They are believed to be the work of many bards. The "Wrath of Achilles," however, which forms the nucleus of the *Iliad*, may, with very great probability, be ascribed to Homer, whom we may believe to have been the most prominent of a brotherhood of bards who flourished about the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. The *Odyssey* is probably at least a century later than the *Iliad*.[1]

[1] During the last twenty years the opinion has been growing that each poem, practically in its entirety, is the work of a single poet.

337. Hesiod. Hesiod, a Bœotian, who is believed to have lived towards the close of the eighth century B.C., was the poet of nature and of real life, especially of peasant life, in the dim transition age of Hellas (sect. 152). The Homeric bards sang of the deeds of heroes, and of a far-away time when gods mingled with men. Hesiod sings of common men, and of everyday, present duties. His greatest poem, a didactic epic, is entitled *Works and Days*. This is, in the main, a sort of farmer's calendar, in which the poet points out to the husbandman the lucky and unlucky days for doing certain kinds of work, gives him minute instructions respecting farm labor, discourses on justice

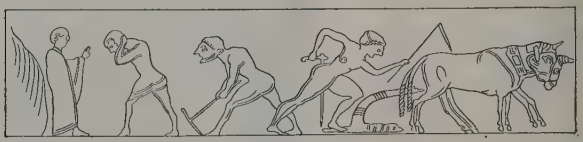


FIG. 133. HOEING AND PLOUGHING. (From a vase painting of the sixth century B.C.)

"Pray to Zeus . . . when thou beginnest thy labor, as soon as, putting thy hand to the plough, thou touchest the back of the oxen that draw at the oaken beam. Just behind thee, let a servant, equipped with a mattock, raise trouble for the birds by covering the seed."—Hesiod, *Works and Days*, vv. 465-471 (Croiset's trans.)

(in spite of all the injustice of the evil age in which Hesiod lived he kept his faith in the justice of heaven), and intersperses among all his practical lines homely maxims of morality and beautiful descriptive passages of the changing seasons.

338. Lyric Poetry: Pindar. As epic poetry, represented by the Homeric and Hesiodic poems, was the characteristic production of the earlier part of the first period of Greek literature, so was lyric poetry the most noteworthy product of the latter part of the period.[1]

The Æolian island of Lesbos was the hearth and home of several of the earlier lyric poets. The songs of these Lesbian bards fairly

[1] This species of poetry had a forerunner in Archilochus, who belongs to the early part of the seventh century B.C. He wrote both elegies and lyrics, of which we have only fragments. He possessed in rare measure "the lovely gift of the Muses"; but his satires were often coarse and venomous.

glow and quiver with ardent passion. Among the earliest of these singers were Alcæus and Sappho.

The poetess Sappho (about 600 B.C.), "the poetess of love and beauty," was exalted by the Greeks to a place next to Homer. Plato calls her the tenth Muse. "Of all the poets of the world," writes Symonds, "of all the illustrious artists of literature, Sappho is the one whose every word has a peculiar and unmistakable perfume, a seal of absolute and inimitable grace." Although her fame endures, her poetry, except a few precious verses (some of which were recently found in Egypt), has long since perished.

Anacreon, as already mentioned, was a courtier at the time of the Greek tyrannies. He was a native of Ionia, but passed much of his time as a favored minstrel at the court of Polycrates of Samos (sect. 192) and of the tyrant Hipparchus at Athens.

Simonides of Ceos (556–467 B.C.) lived during the Persian Wars. He composed immortal couplets for the monuments of the fallen heroes of Thermopylæ and Salamis. These epigrams were burned into the very soul of every person in Hellas.

But the greatest of the Greek lyric poets, and perhaps the greatest lyric poet of any age or race, was Pindar (522–448 B.C.). He was a citizen of Thebes, but spent much of his time in the cities of Magna Græcia. The greater number of Pindar's poems were inspired by the scenes of the national festivals. They describe in lofty strains the splendors of the Olympic chariot races, or the glory of the victors at the Isthmian, the Nemean, and the Pythian games.

Pindar insists strenuously upon virtue and self-culture. With deep meaning, he says, "Become that which thou art"; that is, Be what you were made to be.

III. THE ATTIC OR GOLDEN AGE (475–300 B.C.)

339. Influences Favorable to a Great Literature. The Golden Age of Greek literature followed the Persian Wars and was in a large measure produced by them. Every great literary outburst is the result of a profound stirring of the depths of national life. All Hellas had been profoundly moved by the tremendous struggle for political

existence. Athens especially had risked all and achieved all. Her citizens now felt an unwonted exaltation of life. Hence Athens naturally became the home and center of the literary activity of the period.

The Attic literature embraces almost every species of composition, yet its most characteristic forms are drama, history, and oratory. Especially favorable were the influences of the time for the production of great dramatic works. The two conditions, "intense activity and an appreciative audience," without which, it is asserted, a period of great drama cannot occur, met in the Age of Pericles. Hence the unrivaled excellence of the Attic drama, the noblest production of the artistic genius of the Greeks.

The Greek Drama and Dramatists

340. Origin of the Greek Drama. The Greek drama, in both its branches of tragedy and comedy, grew out of the songs and dances instituted in honor of Dionysus, the god of wine.

Fig. 134. Bacchic Procession

Tragedy (goat song, possibly from the accompanying sacrifice of a goat) sprang from the graver songs, and comedy (village song) from the lighter and more farcical ones. Gradually recital and dialogue were added, there being at first but a single speaker, then two, and finally three — the classical number. Thespis (about 534 B.C.) is said to have introduced this idea of an actor or reciter, hence the term *Thespian* applied to the tragic drama.

Owing to its origin, the Greek drama always retained a religious character and, further, presented two distinct features — the chorus (the songs and dances) and the dialogue. At first the chorus was the all-important part; but later the dialogue became the more prominent portion, the chorus, however, always remaining an essential feature

of the performance. Finally, in the golden age of the Attic stage, the chorus dancers and singers were carefully trained at great expense, and the dialogue and choral odes formed the masterpiece of some great poet — and then the Greek drama, the most splendid creation of human genius, was complete.

341. The Subjects of the Tragic Poets. The tragic poets of Athens drew the material of their plays chiefly from the myths and legends of the heroic age, just as Shakespeare for many of his plays used the legends of the semihistorical periods of his own country or of other lands. These legendary tales they handled freely, so changing, coloring, and moralizing them as to render them the vehicle for the conveying of great ethical lessons, or of profound philosophical ideas regarding the divine government of the world.

342. The Leading Idea of Greek Tragedy. Symonds believes the fundamental idea of Greek tragedy to be the doctrine of Nemesis. Nemesis, it will be recalled, was the goddess who punished pride and presumption.

To understand how the Greeks should have come to regard insolent self-assertion or the unrestrained indulgence of appetite or passion as the most heinous of sins, we must recall the legend upon the front of the Delphian temple — "Measure in all things." As proportion was the cardinal element of beauty in art, so was wise moderation the prime quality in virtue. Those who moderated not their desire of fame, of wealth, of dominion, were the most impious of men, and all such the avenging Nemesis failed not to bring, through their own mad presumption and overvaulting ambition, to overwhelming and irretrievable ruin.

We shall see in a moment how this idea inspired some of the greatest of the Greek dramas.

343. The Three Great Tragic Poets. There are three great names in Greek tragedy — Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. These dramatists, as we have seen (sect. 247), all wrote during the century which followed the victories of the Persian Wars. Of the two hundred and fifty-eight dramas produced by these poets, only thirty-two have come down to us; all the others have perished through the accidents of time.

Æschylus (525–456 B.C.) is called "the father of tragedy." He belonged to the generation preceding the Age of Pericles. He aimed so to interpret the national myths and legends as to make them a means of moral instruction and stimulus. *Prometheus Bound* is one of his chief works — "one of the boldest and most original dramas," Ranke declares, "that has ever been written." He makes prominent Prometheus' faults of impatience and self-will, and shows that his sufferings are but the just penalty of his presumption and self-assertion.[1]

FIG. 135. SOPHOCLES. (Lateran, Rome)

Another of the great tragedies of Æschylus is his *Agamemnon*, thought by some to be his masterpiece. The subject is the crime of Clytemnestra (sect. E 44). It is a tragedy crowded with spirit-shaking terrors and filled with more than human crimes and woes. Nowhere is portrayed with greater power the awful vengeance with which the implacable Nemesis is armed.[2]

[1] In punishment for having stolen fire from heaven and given it to men, and for having taught them the arts of life, the Titan Prometheus is chained by Zeus to a lonely crag, and an eagle is sent to feed upon his liver, which each night grows anew. For the scene of the *Prometheus Bound*, see Joseph Edward Harry, *The Greek Tragic Poets*, pp. 14 f., 22 ff.

[2] The *Agamemnon* forms the first of a trilogy, that is, a series of three dramas, the other pieces being entitled the *Choëphoræ* and the *Eumenides*. These continue the subject of the *Agamemnon*, so that the three really form a single drama or story. This trilogy of Æschylus is the only one from the ancient stage of which all the parts have come down to us.

The theme of the *Persians*, as we have already learned, was the defeat of Xerxes and his host, which afforded the poet a good opportunity "to state his philosophy of Nemesis, here being a splendid tragic instance of pride humbled, of greatness brought to nothing, through one man's impiety and pride." The poet teaches that "Zeus tames excessive lifting up of heart."

Sophocles (about 496–405 B.C.), while yet a young man, gained the prize in a poetical contest with Æschylus (468 B.C.). Plutarch says that Æschylus was so chagrined by his defeat that he left Athens and retired to Sicily. In any event, Sophocles now became prominent as a leader of tragedy at Athens. He lived through nearly a century — a century, too, that included the most brilliant period of the life of Hellas. His dramas, judged by those that have been spared to us, were perfect works of art.

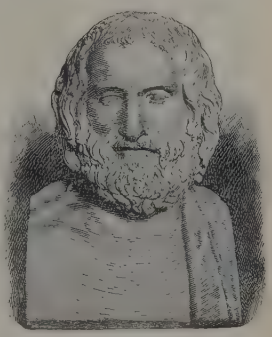


FIG. 136. EURIPIDES. (Vatican, Rome)

The central idea of his dramas is essentially the same as that which characterizes those of Æschylus, namely, that self-will and insolent pride arouse the righteous indignation of the gods, and that no mortal can contend successfully against the will of Zeus. The chief works of Sophocles are *Œdipus the King*, *Œdipus at Colonus*, and *Antigone*, all of which are founded upon old tales of the prehistoric royal line of Thebes.

Euripides (480–406 B.C.) though unpopular at first became as time passed more popular than either Æschylus or Sophocles. Æschylus was too lofty and severe, and Sophocles too old-fashioned and pious, to please the people, after the state of exalted religious feeling awakened by the tremendous experiences of the Persian Wars had passed away. Euripides was a better representative than either of the new age that opened with the Peloponnesian War — an age of new ideas and of growing disbelief in the ancestral religion.

The fame of Euripides passed far beyond the limits of Greece. It is asserted that his verses were recited by the natives of the remote country of Gedrosia; and Plutarch says that the Sicilians were so fond of his lines that many of the Athenian prisoners, taken before Syracuse, bought their liberty by teaching their masters such of his verses as they could repeat from memory.

344. Comedy: Aristophanes. Foremost among all writers of comedy must be placed Aristophanes (about 450–385 B.C.). For a generation — the generation, speaking broadly, of the Peloponnesian War — his inimitable humor furnished the Athenians with a chief part of their entertainment in the theater.[1] Nothing or no one was immune from the shafts of his caustic and often coarse wit. The statesman Pericles, whom he called "the onion-headed Zeus" from the peculiar shape of his head and his Olympian bearing, and the demagogue Cleon were alike the butt of his ridicule. He parodied the stories of Herodotus, and travestied the tragic style of Euripides — even Æschylus and Sophocles did not escape. He caricatured Socrates and ridiculed the New Education and the Sophists (sect. 246), of whom he made Socrates the representative. He even made the Athenians laugh at themselves as he held up to mirth-provoking ridicule their mania for everything new, their credulity and fickleness, and their other foibles and weaknesses, and made fun of their proceedings in the Ecclesia, and their fondness for sitting daylong in their great law courts, and their way of doing things in general.

But Aristophanes was something more than a master of political and social and literary comedy and satire. Many of the lyrics forming the choruses of his pieces breathe the finest sentiments and are inexpressibly charming and beautiful.[2]

History and Historians

Poetry is the first form of literary expression among all peoples. So we must not be surprised to find that it was not until two centuries or more after the composition of the Homeric poems, that is,

[1] His best-known plays are the *Knights*, the *Clouds*, the *Wasps*, the *Birds*, and the *Frogs*.

[2] Menander (342–292 B.C.) was, after Aristophanes, the most noted of Greek comic poets. He was the leader of what is known as the New Comedy.

about the sixth century B.C., that prose writing began among the Greeks. During the next century and a half there appeared three famous historians — Herodotus, Thucydides, and Xenophon — whose names were cherished among the ancients, and whose writings are highly valued and carefully studied at the present day. The relation of these writers to the political history of their respective periods has already been noted in our narrative of events.[1] In this place we shall add only a few biographical facts about each together with brief mention of his most important works.

345. Herodotus (about 484–425 B.C.). Herodotus was, as we have learned, one of the throng of men of brilliant genius who made so preëminent in history the Age of Pericles (sect. 244). He gathered material for his writings through wide travel and by converse with everybody who had a fact to tell or a tale to relate. He journeyed over much of the then known world, visiting Egypt, Babylonia, and Persia, and describes with never failing vivacity and freshness the wonders of the different lands he had seen. Herodotus lived in a story-telling age, and he is himself an inimitable story-teller. To him we are indebted for a large part of the picturesque tales of antiquity — stories of men and events of which the world will never tire. He was overcredulous, and was often imposed upon by his guides in Egypt and at Babylon; but he describes with great care and accuracy what he himself saw. The central theme of his great history is the Persian Wars, the struggle between Asia and Greece. Around this he groups the several stories of the nations of antiquity.

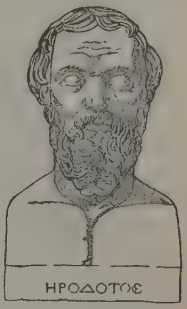


FIG. 137. HERODOTUS (National Museum, Naples)

346. Thucydides. Thucydides (about 471–400 B.C.), though not so popular an historian as Herodotus, was a much more philosophical writer. He was born near Athens. He held a command during the earlier years of the Peloponnesian War, but having incurred the displeasure of the Athenians he was sent into the exile which afforded

[1] See sects. 244, 251, 265.

him leisure to compose his history of that great struggle. Through the closest observation and study, he qualified himself to become the historian of what he from the first foresaw would prove a memorable war.

Thucydides died before his task was completed.[1] His work, in the care shown to state the exact facts and to find the real causes of events, is considered a model of historical writing. It was the first scientific history. Demosthenes read and reread it to improve his own style, and the greatest orators and historians of modern times have been equally diligent students of the work of the great Athenian.

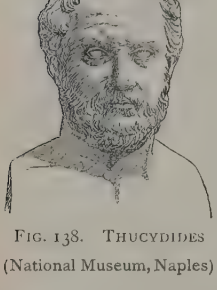


FIG. 138. THUCYDIDES
(National Museum, Naples)

347. Xenophon. Xenophon (about 445–355 B.C.) was an Athenian, and is known both as a general and as a writer. The works that render his name so familiar are his *Anabasis*, a simple yet thrilling narrative of the expedition of the Ten Thousand Greeks (sect. 265), and his *Memorabilia*, or "Recollections" of Socrates. This work by his devoted yet by no means brilliant pupil is the most realistic portrait that we possess of that philosopher. Xenophon's *Cyropædia*, or "Education of Cyrus," is essentially an historical romance, which portrays not alone the youth, but the whole life of Cyrus the Great, besides delineating the manners and institutions of the Persians.

ORATORY

348. Influence of Democratic Institutions. The art of oratory among the Greeks was fostered and developed by the generally democratic character of their institutions. In the public assemblies of the free cities all questions that concerned the state were discussed and decided. The gift of eloquence secured for its possessor a sure preëminence and conferred a certain leadership in the affairs of state.

[1] His history breaks off abruptly in the twenty-first year of the war. The *Hellenica* of Xenophon forms a continuation of the interrupted narrative.

The great jury courts of Athens (sect. 242) were also schools of oratory; for there a citizen was obliged to be his own advocate and to defend his own case. Hence the attention bestowed upon public speaking, and the high degree of perfection attained by the Greeks in the difficult art of persuasion. Almost all the prominent Athenian statesmen were, like Pericles, masters of oratory.

349. Demosthenes. It has been the fortune of Demosthenes (385–322 B.C.) to have his name become throughout the world the synonym of eloquence.[1] The exercises and labors by which, according to tradition, he achieved excellence in his art are held up anew to each generation of youth as guides in the path to success.

The latter part of the life of Demosthenes is intertwined with that of another and rival Athenian orator, Æschines. For his services to the state, the Athenians awarded to Demosthenes a crown of gold. Æschines, along with other enemies of the orator, attacked this measure of the assembly and brought the matter to a trial. All Athens and strangers from far and near gathered to hear the rival orators; for every matter at Athens was decided by a great debate. Demosthenes' address, known as the *Oration on the Crown*, was an unanswerable defense by Demosthenes of his whole policy of opposition to Philip of Macedon, and of his counsel to the Athenians to try doubtful battle with him on the fatal field of Chæronea (sect. 275). The refrain that runs through all that part of the speech which deals with this last crisis in the affairs of the Athenians is this: It is better to have fought at Chæronea and to have left our dead on the lost field, than never to have undertaken battle in defense of the liberties of Hellas. It was ours to do our duty, the issue rested with the gods. Æschines was completely crushed. He left Athens and became a teacher of oratory at Rhodes.

Respecting the several orations of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon, and the death of the eloquent patriot, we have already spoken (sects. 275, 299).

[1] Lysias (about 440–380 B.C.), Isocrates (436–338 B.C.), and Isæus (born about 420 B.C.) were all noted representatives of the art of political or forensic oratory, and forerunners of Demosthenes. We should call Isocrates a rhetorician instead of an orator, as his discourses (many of which were written for others to deliver) were intended to be read rather than spoken. The Roman Cicero was his debtor and imitator.

IV. THE ALEXANDRIAN AGE (300–146 B.C.)

350. Character of the Literature. The Alexandrian period of Greek literature embraces the time between the break-up of Alexander's empire and the conquest of Greece by Rome (300–146 B.C.). During this period Alexandria in Egypt was the chief center of literary activity, hence the term *Alexandrian*, applied to the literature of the age. The great Museum and Library of the Ptolemies afforded in that capital such facilities for students and authors as existed in no other city in the world. But the creative age of Greek literature was over. With the loss of political liberty and the decay of faith in the old religion, literature was cut off from its sources of inspiration. Consequently the Alexandrian literature lacked freshness and originality. It was imitative, critical, and learned. The writers of the period were grammarians, commentators, and translators — in a word, bookworms.

351. Translations and Chronicles. One of the most important literary undertakings of the age was the translation of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, of which mention has already been made (sect. 310). It was also during this period that Manetho wrote from the monuments his *Chronicles of Egypt* (sect. 22) and Berosus, a Babylonian priest, compiled for one of the Syrian rulers the *Chronicles of Chaldea*. We possess only fragments of these works, but these have a high historical value.

352. Poetry and Romance. Of the poets of the period we need mention only Theocritus, a native of Sicily, who lived and wrote for a time at Alexandria under Ptolemy Philadelphus. "He is the only one among the Alexandrian poets who belongs to the literature of the world" (Holm). His rustic idylls mirror the simple, artless life of the peasant shepherd of that age — and of every age. The Roman Vergil was his imitator and debtor.

What Theocritus is in the realm of pastoral poetry Callimachus is in the domain of the love romance. He wrote the first love tale of the type of the modern novel. "This love story," says Professor Mahaffy, commenting on the tale, "is undoubtedly the first literary original of that sort of tale which makes falling in

love and happy marriage the beginning and the end, while the obstacles to this union form the details, of the plot."[1]

353. Conclusion: Græco-Roman Writers. After the Roman conquest of Greece, the center of Greek literary activity shifted from Alexandria to Rome. Hence Greek literature now passes into what is known as its Græco-Roman period (146 B.C.–527 A.D.).

The most noted historical writer of the first part of this period was Polybius (about 203–121 B.C.), who wrote a history of the Roman conquests from 264 to 146 B.C. His work, though the larger part of it has reached us in a mutilated state, is of great worth; for Polybius wrote with true insight and understanding of matters that had become history in his own day. He was one of the best informed of the writers of antiquity. Next to Herodotus and Thucydides he is the truest interpreter to us of the life of the ancient world. He lived to see the greater part of the world he knew absorbed by the ever-growing empire of the city of Rome.

Diodorus Siculus, who lived under Augustus Cæsar at Rome, was the author of a general history of the world, of which we possess only about one third. He was not a critical historian, but from those portions of his work fortunately preserved we gather many facts reported by no other writer. He tells us that he spent thirty years in composing his history and traveled over a great part of Asia and Europe that he might view with his own eyes the places of which he had to write.

Plutarch (born about 40 A.D.), "the prince of biographers," was a native of Chæronea in Bœotia. He will always live in literature as the author of the *Parallel Lives*, in which, with great wealth of illustrative anecdotes, he compares or contrasts Greek with Roman statesmen and soldiers. One motive that led Plutarch to write the book, as we may infer from the partiality which he displays for his Greek heroes, was a desire to let the world know that Hellas had once bred men the peers of the best men that Rome had ever brought forth; another was "through the example of great men to

[1] Mahaffy, *Greek Life and Thought* (1887), p. 237. The story was simply an episode in a long poem named *Ætia*. Some, however, find the first example of the new type of love tale in the *Lydê* of Antimachus of Colophon (flourished about 410 B.C.).

teach men to live well." And this last end he attained, for his work has been and is a great force in the moral education of the world. "The Shakespearean gallery of characters owes a great debt to Plutarch. Next to the Bible and the history of one's own country, one might place the *Lives* in value for the promotion of character in youth."[1]

Selections from the Sources. HOMER, *Iliad* (Bryant's trans.), vi, 505–640 (the parting of Andromache and Hector). SOPHOCLES, *Antigone*. ÆSCHYLUS, *Prometheus Bound*. Davis's *Readings*, pp. 335–337, "The Hymn of Cleanthes."

References (Modern). CROISET, *An Abridged History of Greek Literature*. WRIGHT, *A Short History of Greek Literature*. JEBB, *Primer of Greek Literature* and *Attic Orators*, 2 vols. FELTON, *Greece, Ancient and Modern*, vol. i, pp. 3–267 (on the Greek language and Greek poetry); vol. ii, pp. 111–246 (six lectures on the orators of Greece). MAHAFFY, *History of Classical Greek Literature*, 2 vols. JEVONS, *History of Greek Literature*. MURRAY, *History of Ancient Greek Literature*. CAPPS, *From Homer to Theocritus*. BARNETT, *The Greek Drama* (Primer). SYMONDS, *Studies of the Greek Poets*, 2 vols.

Topics for Class Reports. 1. Sappho: Manatt, *Ægean Days*, chap. xxv, "Lesbos and the Lesbian Poets." 2. Presentation of a Greek drama at Athens: Tucker, *Life in Ancient Athens*, chap. xii. 3. Pindar: Mahaffy, *Survey of Greek Civilization*, pp. 91–96.

[1] Percy Gardner, *Principles of Greek Art*, p. 339.

CHAPTER XXIX

GREEK PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE

354. The Seven Sages; the Forerunners. About 600 B.C. there lived in different parts of Hellas many persons of real or reputed originality and wisdom. Among these were seven men, called the Seven Sages, who held the place of preëminence.[1] To them belongs the distinction of having first aroused the Greek intellect to philosophical thought. The wise sayings — such as "Know thyself," "Nothing in excess," "Wisdom is the fairest possession" — attributed to them are beyond number.

While the maxims and proverbs ascribed to the sages, like the so-called proverbs of Solomon, contain a vast amount of practical wisdom, they do not constitute philosophy proper, which is a systematic search for the reason and causes of things. They form simply the introduction or prelude to Greek philosophy.

355. The Fable Philosophy of Æsop. Connected with the names of the Seven Wise Men is the name of Æsop, whom tradition makes to have been a contemporary of Solon. The fables attributed to him — such as "The Wolf and the Lamb," "The Body and the Members," "The Fox and the Raven," "The Frogs Asking for a King" — have been the delight of childhood from the days of Æsop to our own. But it is the wisdom they embody which gives them a place along with the epigrams of the sages. Simple as they seem, these fables are inimitable, having a charm and flavor all their own. Socrates filled some of his last hours, while in prison, in turning some of them into verse,[2] and a collection of them which had passed down through the Middle Ages was one of the first books printed after

[1] As in the case of the seven wonders of the world, ancient writers were not always agreed as to what names should be accorded the honor of enrollment in the sacred number. Thales, Solon, Periander, Cleobulus, Chilo, Bias, and Pittacus are, however, usually reckoned as the Seven Wise Men.

[2] Plato's *Phædo*, 60.

the invention of printing in the fifteenth century.[1] Æsop was highly honored by the Athenians, who, it is said, commissioned Lysippus to make a bronze statue of him. This statue was, with deep significance, accorded a place in front of the statues of the Seven Sages.

356. The Ionic Natural Philosophers; Thales. The first Greek school of philosophy grew up in the cities of Ionia, in Asia Minor, where almost all forms of Hellenic culture seem to have had their beginnings. The founder of the school was Thales of Miletus[2] (born about 640 B.C.), the Father of Greek Philosophy.

Thales visited Egypt, and it is probable that what he learned there formed the basis of his work in geometry and astronomy. He is said to have taught the Egyptians how to measure the height of the pyramids by means of their shadows. He is also credited with having foretold an eclipse of the sun — a very great scientific achievement.

Thales taught, as did the other Ionic philosophers, that there are four elements — earth, water, air, and fire.[3] Out of these four elements all things in heaven and earth were supposed to be made.

357. Pythagoras. Pythagoras (about 580–500 B.C.) was born on the island of Samos, whence his title of the "Samian Sage." The most of his later years were passed at Croton, in Southern Italy, where he became the founder of a celebrated brotherhood, or association. Legend tells how his pupils, in the first years of their novitiate, were never allowed to look upon their master; how they listened to his lectures from behind a curtain; and how in debate they used no other argument than the words *Ipse dixit* (he himself said so). It is to Pythagoras, according to the legend, that we are indebted for the word *philosopher*. Being asked of what he was master, he replied that he was simply a "philosopher," that is, a "lover of wisdom."

In astronomy the Pythagoreans — it is impossible to separate the teachings of Pythagoras himself from those of his disciples — held views which anticipated by two thousand years those of Copernicus and his school. They taught that the earth is a sphere, and that it, together with the other planets, revolves about a central globe of fire, "the hearth, or altar, of the universe."

[1] Some at least of the tales which now pass as Æsop's fables are from oriental sources.

[2] Other members of the school were Anaximander, Anaximenes, and Heraclitus.

[3] These four elements correspond to the eighty or more elements of modern science.

358. Anaxagoras. Anaxagoras (about 500–427 B.C.) was the first Greek philosopher who made *Mind*, instead of necessity or chance, the arranging and harmonizing force of the universe. "Reason rules the world" was his first maxim.[1] In the views he held of the universe in general Anaxagoras was far in advance of his age. He ventured to believe that the moon was somewhat like the earth, and inhabited; and taught that the sun was not a god, but a glowing rock, as large, probably, as the Peloponnesus. He suffered the fate of Galileo in a later age; he was charged with impiety and exiled. Yet this did not disturb the serenity of his mind. In banishment he said, "It is not I who have lost the Athenians, but the Athenians who have lost me."[2]

359. The Sophists. The philosophers of whom we have thus far spoken were in general men who made the physical universe the subject of their speculations. Their systems of thought possessed little or no practical value. They did not supply motives for right living, having no word for the citizen in regard to his duties to god or to man.

About the middle of the fifth century, however, there appeared in Greece a new class of philosophers, or rather teachers, called Sophists.[3] We have already met them in the Athens of Pericles (sect. 246). They abandoned in despair the attempts of their predecessors to solve the problems of the physical world,[4] and, as we have seen, devoted themselves to civic matters and to giving instruction in rhetoric and the art of public speech. For a long time after the Periclean Age, these men were the most popular educators in Greece. They traveled about from city to city, and contrary to the usual custom of the Greek philosophers took fees from their pupils. Notwithstanding their professions, many of them were teachers of superficial knowledge, who cared more for the dress in which the thought was

[1] This world-ordering Mind, or Reason, of Anaxagoras was not quite the same as the Supreme Ruler or Divine Wisdom of the later philosophers, or as the personal God of the Jews. There was lacking in the conception, in some degree, the idea of design or moral purpose.

[2] In the teachings of Empedocles (about 492–432 B.C.) and Democritus (about 460–370 B.C.) we meet with many speculations respecting the constitution of matter and the origin of things which are startlingly similar to some of the doctrines held by modern scientists. Empedocles has been called the Father of the Evolution Idea.

[3] The most noted of the Sophists were Protagoras, Gorgias, and Prodicus.

[4] Not until the rise of modern science in the sixteenth century were physical phenomena again to absorb so much attention as they did in the earlier schools of Hellas.

arrayed than for the thought itself, more for victory than for truth. The better philosophers of the time disapproved of their method, and applied to them many harsh epithets, taunting them with selling wisdom and accusing them of boasting that they could "make the worse appear the better reason."

But there were those among the Sophists who taught a true morality, and whose good influence was great and lasting. Prodicus of Ceos (born about the middle of the fifth century B.C.), who lectured for a time at Athens, was such a teacher. The apologue, or text, of one of his discourses was the celebrated allegory, "The Choice of Heracles."[1]

Prodicus represents Heracles as a young man standing at a parting of ways perplexed as to which path he should take. As he hesitates he is met by two women — one, named Vice, urges him to follow her, promising to lead him by an easy and pleasant path to the present gratification of every desire; the other, named Virtue, urges him to follow her in the path in which she will direct his feet. Virtue promises him that the road shall lead him to exalted happiness, but she tells him that the way is long and steep and toilsome — for it was the path of self-denial, of painful toil in the service of mankind. The choice that the young Heracles made is evident from the superhuman, self-sacrificing labors by which he won the undying praise of men and a place among the celestials[2] (sect. 138).

Prodicus thus moralized the myth of Heracles, and holding before his young pupils the hero as a model for imitation, earnestly adjured them to make his choice their own, and through like self-denial and toilsome labor for others to win the hero's meed of enduring praise and honor.

Aside from the allegories and parables of the Bible, no allegory probably ever exercised so great and lasting an influence over the lives of wide circles of men as this allegory of "The Choice of Heracles." Because of the stress Prodicus in his discourses laid upon virtue, he has been called the forerunner of Socrates, the first of the three celebrated philosophers of whom we shall next speak.

[1] See sect. 138 and note.

[2] Xenophon, *Memorabilia*, bk. ii, chap. i, sect. 21.

360. Socrates. Volumes could not contain all that would be both instructive and interesting respecting the teachings and speculations of the great philosophers Socrates, Plato, and Aristotle.[1] We can, however, accord to each only a few words.

Of these eminent thinkers, Socrates (469–399 B.C.), though surpassed in grasp of intellect by both Plato and Aristotle, has the firmest hold upon the affections of the world. Nature, while generous to the philosopher in the gifts of soul, was unkind to him in the matter of his person. His face was as ugly as a satyr's, so that he invited the shafts of the comic poets of his time. He loved to gather a little circle about him in the Agora or in the streets, and then to draw out his listeners by a series of ingenious questions. His method was so peculiar to himself that it has received the designation of the "Socratic dialogue." He has very happily been called an *educator*, as opposed to an *instructor*. In the young men of his time Socrates found many devoted pupils.[2]

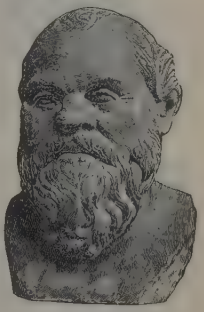


FIG. 139. SOCRATES (National Museum, Naples)

This great philosopher believed that the proper study of mankind is man, his favorite maxim being, "Know thyself"; hence he is said to have brought philosophy down from the heavens to the homes of men.

Socrates taught the purest system of morals that the world had yet known — one which has been surpassed only by the precepts of the Great Teacher. He thought himself to be restrained by a guardian spirit from doing what was wrong. He believed in the immortality of the soul and in a Supreme Ruler of the universe. Of his condemnation to death on the charge of impiety, and of his last hours with his devoted disciples, we have already spoken (sect. 266).

[1] We have met Socrates and Aristotle before and noticed their relations to the main current of Greek life and history (see sects. 266, 278).

[2] Socrates was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Xanthippe, his wife, seems to have been of a practical turn of mind, and unable to sympathize with the abstracted ways of her husband, whose life at home she at times made very uncomfortable. Her name has been handed down as "the synonym of the typical scold."

361. Plato. Plato (427–347 B.C.), "the broad-browed," was a philosopher of noble birth, before whom in youth opened a brilliant career in the world of Greek affairs; but, coming under the influence of Socrates, he resolved to give up all his prospects in politics and devote himself to philosophy. Upon the condemnation and death of his master he went into voluntary exile. In foreign lands he gathered knowledge and met with varied experiences. He finally returned to Athens and established a school of philosophy in the Academy. Here, amid the disciples that thronged to his lectures, he passed a great part of his long life — he died 347 B.C., at the age of eighty-one years — laboring incessantly upon the great works that bear his name. Probably in a greater degree than any other philosopher, ancient or modern, he combined capacity for philosophical thought with an extraordinary gift of literary expression.

FIG. 140. PLATO (National Museum, Naples)

Plato imitated in his writings Socrates' method in conversation. The discourse is carried on by questions and answers, hence the term *Dialogues* that attaches to his works. He attributes to his master, Socrates, much of the philosophy that he teaches; yet his writings are all deeply tinged with his own genius and thought. In the *Republic* Plato portrays his conception of an ideal state. But he realized that the world was not yet ready for a perfect state, and so in his *Laws* he drew up what he himself designated as a "second-best constitution."[1] It was in large part the laws, institutions, and customs of Sparta and of Athens improved and refined.

The *Phædo* is a record of the last conversation of Socrates with his disciples — an immortal argument for the immortality of the soul.

Plato believed not only in a future life (postexistence), but also in preëxistence, teaching that the ideas of reason, or our intuitions,

[1] *Laws*, v, 739.

are reminiscences of a past experience.[1] Plato's doctrines have exerted a profound influence upon all schools of thought and all philosophies since his day. In some of his precepts he made a close approach to the teachings of Christianity. "We ought to become like God," he said, "as far as this is possible; and to become like Him is to become holy and just and wise."

362. Aristotle. As Socrates was surpassed by his disciple Plato, so in turn was Plato excelled by his pupil Aristotle (384–322 B.C.), "the master of those who know." In him the philosophical genius of the Hellenic intellect reached its culmination. It may be doubted whether all the ages since his time have produced so profound and powerful an intellect as his. He was born in the Macedonian city of Stagira, and hence is frequently called the "Stagirite."

FIG. 141. ARISTOTLE (Spada Palace, Rome)

After twenty years spent in the school of Plato at Athens and some years passed in travel, Aristotle, as has been noted, accepted the invitation of Philip II of Macedon to become the preceptor of his son, the young prince Alexander (sect. 278). In after years Alexander, not forgetful of what he owed to his old teacher, became his liberal patron, and, besides giving him large sums of money, aided him in his scientific studies by sending him collections of plants and animals gathered on distant expeditions.

At Athens the great philosopher conversed with his favorite disciples while walking about beneath the trees and porticoes of

[1] In the following lines from Wordsworth we catch a reflection of Plato's doctrine of preëxistence:

Our birth is but a sleep and a forgetting;
The soul that rises with us, our life's star,
Hath had elsewhere its setting,
And cometh from afar:
Not in entire forgetfulness,
And not in utter nakedness,
But trailing clouds of glory, do we come
From God, who is our home.
Ode on Intimations of Immortality

the Lyceum; hence probably the term *peripatetic* (from the Greek *peripatein*, "to walk about") sometimes applied to his philosophy.[1] Among the productions of his fertile intellect are works on the natural history of animals, on rhetoric, logic, poetry, morals and politics, physics and metaphysics. For centuries his works were studied and copied and commented upon by both European and Asiatic scholars, in the schools of Athens and Rome, of Alexandria and Constantinople. Until the time of Francis Bacon in England, for nearly two thousand years, Aristotle ruled over the realm of mind with a despotic sway. All teachers and philosophers acknowledged him as their guide and master.

363. Zeno and the Stoics. We are now approaching the period when the political life of Greece, the freedom of her city-states having been cramped or destroyed by the Macedonians, was failing, and the whole Greek world was being fast overshadowed by the rising greatness of Rome. But the intellectual life of the Greek race, as we have learned, was by no means extinguished by the calamity that ended its political career. For centuries after that event the scholars and philosophers of this highly gifted people led a brilliant career in the schools and universities of the Mediterranean world.

Among the philosophers of this period the most important were Zeno and Epicurus, whom we have already mentioned as the founders at Athens of schools of philosophy that stood in close relations to the moral and spiritual movements of the Hellenistic Age (sect. 302). It is only the moral systems of these two schools that are of historical importance.

The Stoic moral code was the outgrowth in part, at least, of that of the Cynics, a sect who thought that a man to be good should have only few wants. The typical representative of this sect was Diogenes, who lived, so the story goes, in a wine jar (πίθος), and went about Athens by daylight with a lantern, in search, as he said, of a *man*. The Cynics were, in a word, a race of pagan hermits; many of them were rude and ignorant, yet among them were to be found men of choice spirit and even of fine culture.

[1] By some the term is derived from the name of the portico in the Lyceum in which Aristotle taught.

Zeno adopted all that was good in the code of the Cynics, and, adding to this everything that he found of value in the systems of other philosophers, formed therefrom the Stoic system. In many of its doctrines the new philosophy anticipated Christian teachings and was, in the philosophical world, a very important preparation for Christianity.

The Stoics inculcated virtue for the sake of itself. They believed — and it would be very difficult to frame a better creed — that "man's chief business here is to do his duty." Health and sickness, fortune and misfortune, they taught were all alike indifferent — were matters of no moment. They schooled themselves to bear with composure any lot that destiny might appoint. Any sign of emotion on account of calamity was considered unmanly. Thus a certain Stoic, when told of the sudden death of his son, is said merely to have remarked, "Well, I never imagined that I was the father of an immortal."

This Stoic code did not become a really important factor in the moral life of the ancient world until after its adoption by the finer spirits among the Romans. It never influenced the masses, but for several centuries it gave moral support and guidance to many of the best men of the Roman race, among whom were several emperors. In truth, Stoicism was one of the most helpful elements in the rich legacy which Hellas transmitted to Rome.

364. Epicurus and the Epicureans. Epicurus (341–270 B.C.), who was a contemporary of Zeno, taught, in opposition to the Stoics, that *pleasure* is the highest good. He recommended virtue, indeed, but only as a means for the attainment of pleasure; whereas the Stoics made virtue an end in itself. In other words, Epicurus said, Be virtuous, because virtue will bring you the greatest amount of happiness; Zeno said, Be virtuous, because you ought to be.

Epicurus had many followers in Greece, and his doctrines were eagerly embraced by many among the Romans during the corrupt and decadent period of the Roman Empire. Many of these disciples, persons to whom the Stoic sentiment of duty as something noble and majestic made little or no appeal, carried the doctrines of their master to an excess that he himself would have been the first to condemn. Their whole philosophy of life was expressed in the proverb, "Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die."

SCIENCE AMONG THE GREEKS

The contributions of the Greek observers to the physical sciences have laid us under no small obligation to them. Some of those whom we have classed as philosophers were careful students of nature, and might be called scientists. The great philosopher Aristotle wrote some valuable works on anatomy and natural history. From his time onward the sciences were pursued with much zeal and success. Especially did the later Greeks do much good and lasting work in the mathematical sciences, basing their labors upon what had already been achieved by the Egyptians and the Chaldeans.

365. Mathematics: Euclid and Archimedes. Alexandria, in Egypt, under the Ptolemies (sect. 310), became the seat of the most celebrated school of mathematics of antiquity. Here, under Ptolemy Soter, flourished Euclid, the great geometer, whose work forms the basis of the science of geometry as taught in our schools to-day. Ptolemy himself was his pupil. The royal student, however, seems to have disliked the severe application required to master the problems of Euclid, and asked his teacher if there was not some easier way. Euclid replied, "There is no royal road to geometry."

In the third century B.C., Syracuse, in Sicily, was the home of Archimedes (about 287–212), the greatest mathematician and engineer that the Grecian world produced. His knowledge of the laws of the lever is indicated by the oft-quoted boast that he made to Hiero, king of Syracuse: "Give me a place to stand, and I will move the world."

366. Astronomy and Geography. Among ancient Greek astronomers and geographers the names of Aristarchus, Eratosthenes, Hipparchus, Strabo, Pausanias, and Claudius Ptolemy are distinguished.

Aristarchus of Samos, who lived in the third century B.C., held that the earth revolves about the sun as a fixed center and rotates on its own axis. He was the Greek Copernicus. But his theory was rejected by his contemporaries and successors.

Eratosthenes (born about 276 B.C.) might be called an astronomical geographer. His greatest achievement was the fairly accurate determination of the circumference of the earth by means of the different

lengths of the shadow cast by the midday sun in Upper and in Lower Egypt at the time of the summer solstice.

Hipparchus, who flourished about the middle of the second century B.C., was, through his careful observations, the real founder of scientific astronomy. He calculated eclipses, catalogued the stars, and wrote several astronomical works of a really scientific character.

Strabo was born about half a century before our era. He traveled over a large part of the world, and describes, as an eyewitness, the scenery, the productions, and the peoples of all the countries known to the ancients.

About two centuries after Strabo's time, Pausanias, "the Greek Baedeker," wrote his *Tour of Greece*, a sort of guidebook, which is crowded with invaluable little items of interest concerning all the places best worth visiting in Greece.

Claudius Ptolemy lived in Egypt about the middle of the second century after Christ. His great reputation is due not so much to his superior genius as to the fortunate circumstance that a vast work[1] compiled by him preserved and transmitted to later times almost all the knowledge of the ancient world on astronomical and geographical subjects. In this way it has happened that his name has become attached to various doctrines and views respecting the universe, though these probably were not originated by him. The phrase "Ptolemaic System," however, links his name inseparably, whether the honor be fairly his or not, with that conception of the solar system set forth in his works, which continued to be the received theory from his time until Copernicus, fourteen centuries later.

Ptolemy combated the theory of Aristarchus in regard to the rotation and revolution of the earth; yet he believed the earth to be a globe, and supported this view by exactly the same arguments that we to-day use to prove the doctrine.

367. Medicine and Anatomy. Hippocrates (born about 460 B.C.) did so much to emancipate from superstition and ignorance the art of healing, and to make it a scientific study, that he is called the "Father of Medicine." His central doctrine was that there are laws of disease as well as laws of healthy life.

[1] Known to mediæval Europe by its Arabian title *Almagest*, meaning "the greatest."

The advance of the science of anatomy among the ancient Greeks was hindered by their feelings concerning the body, which caused them to look with horror upon its deliberate mutilation. Surprising as the statement may appear, it is nevertheless true that Aristotle, "the greatest of all thinkers in antiquity, the son of a physician, especially educated in physical science, and well acquainted for the time with the dissection of animals, regarded the brain as a lump of cold substance, quite unfit to be the seat and organ of the *sensus communis*.[1] This important office he ascribed rather to the heart. The brain he considered to be chiefly useful as the source of fluids for lubricating the eyes, etc." [2] At Alexandria, however, in the later period, under the influence, doubtless, of Egyptian practices in embalming, the Greek physicians greatly promoted the knowledge of anatomy not only by the dissection of dead bodies but even by the vivisection of criminals condemned to death.[3]

Selections from the Sources. PLATO, *Republic* (Jowett's trans.), ii, 379, 380 (on God as the author of good); and *Phædo* (on immortality).

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Topics for Class Reports. 1. The life of Socrates: Leonard, *Socrates: Master of Life*, pp. 31–61. 2. Extempore declamations by the Sophists: Walden, *The Universities of Ancient Greece*, chap. xi.

[1] The thinking faculty, the mind.

[2] Ladd, *Elements of Physiological Psychology* (1887), p. 240.

[3] Some practices among the Greek physicians strike us as peculiar. The following is too characteristically Greek to be omitted. Plato, in the *Gorgias*, tells us that sometimes the doctor took a Sophist along with him to persuade the patient to take his prescription. Professor Mahaffy comments thus upon this practice: "This was done because it was the fashion to discuss everything in Greece, and people were not satisfied to submit silently to anybody's prescription, either in law, politics, religion, or medicine."

CHAPTER XXX

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE GREEKS

368. Education. Education at Sparta, where it was chiefly gymnastic, as we have seen, was a state affair (sect. 175); but at Athens and throughout Greece generally, the youth were trained in private schools. These schools were of all kinds, ranging from those kept by the most obscure teachers, who gathered their pupils in some recess of the street, to those established in the Athenian Academy and Lyceum by such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle.

It was only the boys who received education. These Grecian boys, Professor Mahaffy believes, were "the most attractive the world has ever seen." At all events, we may believe that they were trained more carefully than the youth among any other people before or since the days of Hellenic culture.

In the nursery the boy was taught the beautiful myths and stories of the national mythology and religion.[1] At about seven he entered school, being led to and from the place of training by an old slave known as a *pedagogue*, which word in Greek means a guide or leader of

[1] At the birth of a child, many customs of a significant character were carefully observed. Thus at Sparta the new-born infant was first cradled on a shield, which symbolized the martial life of the Spartan citizen; while at Athens the child was laid upon a mantle in which was wrought the ægis of Athena, by which act was emblemized and invoked the protection of that patron goddess. Infanticide was almost universally practiced throughout Greece. (At Thebes, however, the exposure of children was prohibited by severe laws.) Such philosophers as Plato and Aristotle saw nothing in the custom to condemn. Among the Spartans, as we have already learned (sect. 175), the state determined what infants might be preserved, condemning the weakly or ill-formed to be cast out to die. At Athens and in other states the right to expose his child was given to the father. The infant was abandoned in some desert place, or left in some frequented spot in the hope that it might be picked up and cared for. Greek literature, like that of every other people of antiquity, is filled with stories and dramas turning upon points afforded by this common practice. The career of Sargon of Agade, of Cyrus the Great of Persia, of the Hebrew Moses, of Œdipus of Thebes, of Romulus and Remus of Roman legend, and a hundred others, are all prefaced by the same story of exposure and fortunate rescue.

boys — not a teacher. His studies were grammar, music, and gymnastics, the aim of the course being to secure a symmetrical development of mind and body alike.

Grammar included reading, writing, and arithmetic; music, which embraced a wide range of mental accomplishments, trained the boy to appreciate the masterpieces of the great poets, to contribute his part to the musical diversions of private entertainments, and to join in the sacred choruses and in the pæan of the battlefield. The exercises of the palestræ and the gymnasia trained him for the Olympic contests, or for those sterner hand-to-hand battle struggles in which so much depended upon personal strength and dexterity.

FIG. 142. PEDAGOGUE AND CHILDREN. (Terra-cotta group from Tanagra; Louvre, Paris)

Upon reaching maturity the youth was enrolled in the list of citizens. But his graduation from school was his "commencement" in a much more real sense than with the average modern graduate. Never was there a people besides the Greeks whose daily life was so emphatically a discipline in liberal culture. The schools of the philosophers, the debates of the popular assembly, the practice of the law courts, the masterpieces of a divine art, the religious processions, the representations of an unrivaled stage, the Panhellenic games — all these were splendid and efficient educational agencies, which produced and maintained among the citizens of the Greek cities a standard of average intelligence and culture probably never attained among any other people (see sect. 238).

369. Social Position of Woman. Although there are in Greek literature some exquisitely beautiful portraitures of ideal womanhood, still the general tone of the literature betrays a deep contempt for woman, which Symonds regards as "the greatest social blot upon the brilliant but imperfect civilization of the Greeks." Thucydides quotes with seeming approval the Greek proverb, "That woman is best who is least spoken of among men, whether for good or for evil."

This unworthy conception of womanhood necessarily consigned woman to a narrow and inferior place in the Greek home. Her position may be defined as being about halfway between oriental seclusion and modern, or Western, freedom. Her main duties were to cook and spin, and to oversee the domestic slaves, of whom she herself was virtually one. In the fashionable society of Ionian cities she was seldom allowed to appear in public, or to meet, even in her own house, the male friends of her husband. In Sparta, however, and in Dorian states generally, also in Æolis, she was accorded unusual freedom, and was a really important factor in society.

370. Theatrical Entertainments. Among the ancient Greeks the theater was a state establishment, "a part of the constitution." This arose from the religious origin and character of the drama (sect. 340), all matters pertaining to the popular worship being the care and concern of the state. Theatrical performances, being religious acts, were presented only during religious festivals — in certain celebrations held in honor of Dionysus. The spectators sat under the open sky; and the pieces followed one after the other in close succession from early morning till nightfall.

FIG. 143. A GREEK SCHOOL. (From a vase painting of the fifth century B.C.)

The master on the left is teaching the boy seated in front of him to play the lyre; the master in the center of the picture is giving instruction in reading or in recitation to the boy standing before him. The man seated and leaning on a staff is probably the pedagogue who has brought the boys to the school

While the better class of actors were highly honored, ordinary players were held in very low esteem, in which matter the Greek stage presents a parallel to that of England in the sixteenth century. And as in the Elizabethan age the writers of plays were frequently also the performers, so in Greece, particularly during the early period of the drama, the author often became an actor — Æschylus and Sophocles both

assumed this rôle — and assisted in the presentation of his own pieces. Still another parallel is found in the fact that the female parts in the Greek dramas, as in the early English theater, were taken by men.

In the earlier period of the great dramatists the theater equipment was still simple, as it was in England in Shakespeare's time, but later it became more elaborate. The tragic actor increased his height and size by wearing thick-soled buskins, an enormous mask, and padded garments. The actor in comedy wore thin-soled slippers, or socks. The sock being thus a characteristic part of the make-up of the ancient comic actor, and the buskin that of the tragic actor, these foot coverings have come to be used as the symbols respectively of comedy and tragedy, as in the familiar lines of Dryden:

> Great Fletcher never treads in buskins here,
> Nor greater Jonson dares in socks appear.

The theater exerted a great influence upon Greek life. It performed for ancient Greek society somewhat the same service as that rendered to modern society by the pulpit and the press. During the best days of Hellas the frequent rehearsal upon the stage of the chief incidents in the lives of the gods and the heroes served to deepen and strengthen the religious faith of the people; and later, when with the Macedonian supremacy the days of decline came, the stage was one of the chief agents in the diffusion of Greek culture throughout the Hellenistic world.

371. Banquets and Symposia. Banquets and drinking parties among the Greeks possessed some features which set them apart from similar entertainments among other people.

The banquet proper was partaken, in later times, by the guests in a reclining position, upon couches or divans arranged about the table in the oriental manner. After the usual courses a libation was poured out and a hymn sung in honor of the gods, and then followed that characteristic part of the entertainment known as the symposium.

The symposium was "the intellectual side of the feast." It consisted of general conversation, of riddles, and of convivial songs rendered to the accompaniment of the lyre passed from hand to hand. Sometimes professional singers and musicians, dancing girls, jugglers, and

jesters were called in to contribute to the merrymaking. All the while the wine flowed freely, the rule being that a man might drink "as much as he could carry home without a guide, — unless he were far gone in years." Here also the Greeks applied their maxim, "Never too much." Besotted drunkenness, though by no means unknown in Greece, was always regarded as a most disgraceful thing.

The banqueters usually consumed the night in merrymaking, sometimes being broken in upon from the street by other bands of revelers, who made themselves self-invited guests.

The symposium must at times, when the conversation was sustained by such persons as Socrates and Aristophanes, have been "a feast of reason and a flow of soul" indeed. Xenophon in his *Banquet* and Plato in his *Symposium* have each left us a memorable report of such an entertainment.

FIG. 144. A BANQUET SCENE

372. Occupations. The enormous body of slaves in ancient Greece relieved the free population from most of those forms of labor classed as drudgery. Any kind of work with the hands was thought degrading, and was left largely to slaves and aliens. Speaking on this subject Plutarch says: "No well-nurtured man, viewing the statue of Zeus Olympius, would wish he were a Phidias, for it does not follow that because we admire the work we esteem the workman."

At Sparta and in other states where oligarchical constitutions prevailed the citizens formed a sort of military caste, strikingly similar to the military aristocracy of feudal Europe. Their chief occupation, as has already appeared, was martial and gymnastic exercises and the administration of public affairs. The Spartans, it will be recalled, were forbidden by law to engage in trade. In other aristocratic states, as at Thebes, a man by engaging in trade disqualified himself for full citizenship.

In the democratic states, however, labor and trade were in general regarded with less contempt, and a considerable portion of the citizens were traders, artisans, and farmers.

Life at Athens presented some peculiar features. All Attica being included in what we should term the corporate limits of the city, the roll of Athenian citizens included a large body of well-to-do farmers whose residence was outside the city walls. The Attic plains and the slopes of the encircling hills were dotted with beautiful villas and inviting farmhouses.

And, since Athens was the head of a great empire of subject cities, a large number of Athenian citizens were necessarily employed as salaried officials in the minor positions of the public service, and thus politics became a profession. In any event, the meetings of the popular assembly and the discussion of matters of state engrossed more or less of the time and attention of every citizen.

Again, the great Athenian jury courts (sect. 242), which were busied with cases from all parts of the empire, gave constant employment to nearly one fourth of the citizens, the fee that the juryman received enabling him to live, if he lived narrowly, without other business. It is said that, in the early morning, when the jurymen were passing through the streets to the different courts, Athens appeared like a city wholly given up to the single business of law. Furthermore, the great public buildings and monuments, which were in constant process of erection, afforded employment for a vast number of artists and skilled workmen of every class.

In the Agora, again, at any time of the day, a numerous class might have been found, whose sole occupation, as was the case with Socrates, was to talk. The writer of the Acts of the Apostles was so impressed with this feature of life at Athens that he summarized the habits of the people by saying, "All the Athenians and strangers which were there spent their time in nothing else but either to tell or to hear some new thing" (Acts xvii, 21).

373. Slavery. There is a dark side to Greek life — as in truth there is to almost all ancient life. Hellenic art, culture, refinement — "these good things were planted, like exquisite exotic flowers, upon the black, rank soil of slavery."

Slaves were very numerous in Greece. No exact estimate can be made of their number, but it is believed that they greatly outnumbered the free population. Almost every freeman was a slave owner. It was accounted a real hardship to have to get along with less than half a dozen slaves.

This large class of slaves was formed in various ways. In the prehistoric period the fortunes of war had brought the entire population of whole provinces into a servile condition, as in certain parts of the Peloponnesus. During later times, the ordinary captives of war still further augmented the ranks of these unfortunates. Their number was also largely added to by the slave traffic carried on with the barbarian peoples of Asia. Criminals and debtors, too, were often condemned to servitude, and foundlings were usually brought up as slaves.

The relation of master and slave was regarded by the Greek as being not only a legal but a natural one. A free community, in his view, could not exist without slavery. It formed the natural basis of both the family and the state, the relation of master and slave being regarded as "strictly analogous to the relation of soul and body." Even Aristotle and other Greek philosophers approved the maxim that slaves were simply domestic animals possessed of intelligence.[1] They were considered just as necessary in the economy of the family as cooking utensils.

In general, Greek slaves were not treated harshly, according to the standard of humanity that prevailed in antiquity. Some held places of honor in the family and enjoyed the confidence and even the friendship of their master. The sale of a slave by a Greek to a non-Greek master offended Greek feeling. At Sparta, however, where slavery assumed the form of serfdom, the lot of the bondsman was peculiarly hard and unendurable.

[1] This harsh, selfish theory, it should be noted, was somewhat modified and relaxed when the slave class, through the numerous captives of the unfortunate civil wars, came to be made up in considerable part of cultured Greeks, instead of being, as was the case in earlier times, composed almost exclusively of barbarians, or of inferior branches of the Hellenic race, between whom and their cultured masters there was the same difference in mental qualities as existed between the negro slaves and their masters in our own country. The sentiment that a slave was an unfortunate person, rather than an inferior being, came to prevail — a sentiment which aided in preparing the way for the Christian doctrine of the universal brotherhood of man.

If ever slavery was justified by its fruits, it was in Greece. The brilliant civilization of the Greeks was its product, and could not have existed without it. As one truthfully says, "Without the ... the Attic democracy would have been an impossibility, for they alone enabled the poor, as well as the rich, to take a part in public affairs." Relieving the citizen of all drudgery, the system created a class characterized by elegant leisure, refinement, and culture.

We find an almost exact historical parallel to all this in the feudal system of mediæval Europe. Such a society has been well likened to a great pyramid whose top may be gilded with light while its base lies in dark shadows. The civilization of ancient Hellas was splendid and attractive, but it rested with crushing weight upon the lower orders of Greek society.

Selections from the Sources. Aristotle, *Politics*, viii (on education). Xenophon, *Symposium*, i, iv.

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Especially noteworthy among recent books of importance to students of Greek home life, education, religion, and culture is Caroline Dale Snedeker's *The Coward of Thermopylæ* (Doubleday, Page & Company, 1911). This work, while fiction in form, is history in reality. It portrays, with deep sympathy and intimate knowledge, and always with conscientious fidelity to historical facts, Greek customs, life, and thought in the fifth century B.C., that is, in the days of Leonidas and Pindar.

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AND PRONOUNCING VOCABULARY

NOTE. In the case of words whose correct pronunciation has not seemed to be clearly indicated by their accentuation and syllabication, the sounds of the letters have been denoted thus: ā, like *a* in *grāy*; ā́, like *ā*, only less prolonged; ă, like *a* in *hăve*; ä, like *a* in *fär*; a̤, like *a* in *a̤ll*; ē, like *ee* in *meet*; ḗ, like *ē*, only less prolonged; ĕ, like *e* in *ĕnd*; ê, like *e* in *thêre*; ẽ, like *e* in *ẽrr*; ī, like *i* in *pīne*; ĭ, like *i* in *pĭn*; ō, like *o* in *nōte*; ṓ, like *ō*, only less prolonged; ŏ, like *o* in *nŏt*; ô, like *o* in *ôrb*; o͞o, like *oo* in *mo͞on*; o͝o, like *oo* in *fo͝ot*; ū, like *u* in *ūse*; ü, like the French *u*; ȳ, like *ī*; *ᾱ̃* and *ᾱ̃* have the same sound that *e* would have in the same position; ɛ and ɛh, like *k*; ç, like *s*; ḡ, like *g* in *ḡet*; ġ, like *j*; ş, like *z*; ch, as in German *ach*; G (small capital) as in German *Hamburg*; ñ, like *ni* in *minion*; ṅ denotes the nasal sound in French, being similar to *ng* in *song*.

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